

# The Revolution.

PRINCIPLE, NOT POLICY: JUSTICE, NOT FAVORS.—MEN, THEIR RIGHTS AND NOTHING MORE: WOMEN, THEIR RIGHTS AND NOTHING LESS.

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## The Revolution.

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#### EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

CHICAGO, March 1st.

DEAR REVOLUTION: Writing in haste from Springfield, I did not finish all I had to say.

After visiting Mr. Lincoln's house in company with Mr. Tyndale, we went to his office. It is a three story brick house on 5th street. As Mr. Herndon, who was Mr. Lincoln's partner for many years, was out of town, we were indebted to William L. Elkin, a student, for many interesting facts. We spent over an hour there, sitting at the table where, in years gone by, Mr. Lincoln used to read, and think, and write. There lay the same paper weights he had handled: one a small bronze bust of Daniel Webster, and one a block of Tennessee marble; the books he had thumbed, in which his name was written with his own hand. I looked over the "Illinois Supreme Court Reports by Peck," a huge volume of the "Revised Statutes of Illinois of 1858, by Seates and Blackwell," facetiously called by the bar in Springfield, "the horse block," also Revised Statutes of '45, all worn and marked.

Do not imagine, dear reader, that I felt any special regard for the statutes of Illinois, which, to-day, deny woman the right even to the wages she earns; it was simply a reverence for whatever had helped to make the noble man we all remember with respect and admiration. The same maps and pictures on which he had gazed still decorated the walls, with the addition of an engraving of Carpenter's picture of Mr. Lincoln and his Cabinet. A broken looking-glass that had often reflected those sad features, still hangs in its accustomed place. There, too, stands the old book case, with pigeon-holes of papers, just as Mr. Lincoln left them; no curious eye has yet seen their contents, no irreverent hand has unknotted a single knot. As I heard that fact, I was lost in admiration at the wonderful forbearance and self-control of the genus homo.

In one corner of the book-case was a large wasps nest, showing how undisturbed it is left from year to year. I looked over the second volume of Mr. Herndon's manuscript of Mr. Lincoln's life, which will be a deeply interesting and valuable work when completed. From what I saw of the author in a long conversation the next day, I feel his will not be a mere outward history of facts, but of the inner life of the sentiments, affections, and philosophy of our good President. Mr. Herndon is a man of clear moral perception, of deep spiritual insight, a man of faith, of enthusiasm with what is called woman's intuition.

Speaking of Mr. Lincoln's chronic melancholy, he said, in his poetical way, "Mr. Lincoln's sadness at times dripped from him like dew." Though we hear so much of his jokes and good stories, his joviality was only on the surface, and seldom enjoyed by those who met him daily.

Taking up a copy of THE REVOLUTION in Milwaukee, I was sorry to see some criticisms on

Mrs. Lincoln. I am sorry that article found a place in a woman's paper, for I despise a woman who joins in any hue and cry against her own sex. But there is one consolation in the mortification I feel, and that is, it was written by a man. Mrs. Lincoln should call out our sympathy, rather than denunciation. Her unhappy organization, a tendency to insanity (for which she is not responsible), increased and aggravated by the great sadness of her husband, which rested like a dark cloud most of the time on his household, furnish a sufficient excuse for many of her idiosyncrasies of character. People know so little of the domestic trials of each other that it behoves all to be merciful in their judgments. We should remember that Mrs. Lincoln has sons also to be wounded and humiliated by all inviolable references to her name. For the sake of the husband, his character, and position, Americans should shield rather than expose the wife of a President who was sacrificed for the free principles he represented. A pension for the wife and children of one who fell by the hands of an assassin in the midst of revolution seems proper and in harmony with the spirit of a brave and magnanimous people. I regard it simply as a testimony of respect for the man, for the high office he filled, and for the dignity of a republican government. National pride should end the present unworthy discussion of this proposed pension. We hope whatever is done will be done quickly, and no more said about it. It is hard enough for a proud-spirited woman to be a subject of public bounty without being told, on all sides, that she is unworthy such consideration.

I was in Springfield a few days after the dedication of Mr. Lincoln's tomb, and clip the following account from the Springfield Journal:

#### DEDICATION OF MR. LINCOLN'S TOMB.

Yesterday being the anniversary of the late President Lincoln's birthday, quite a number of ladies and gentlemen visited Oak Ridge Cemetery for the purpose of decorating the tomb of Mr. Lincoln. Among those present, we noticed several ladies, members of that noble band of women who labored so faithfully during the late war, in sustaining the "Soldiers' Home" in this city, and ministering to the sick and suffering in the hospitals. If the world at large failed to remember the anniversary of the birth of the late lamented President, these noble and patriotic ladies did not. On their arrival at the tomb, they immediately commenced decorating it with wreaths of evergreens. Over the arch of the door and along the tomb was placed a beautiful circular wreath of evergreens, while the urns were twined with wreaths artistically and appropriately arranged. A large and beautiful wreath encircled the entrance to the tomb. The door of the tomb was decorated with a cross of evergreens, interspersed with rare and beautiful flowers. The scene presented a picture worthy the pencil of an artist—a scene which may be repeated, but by other actors, on each succeeding anniversary so long as the patriotism and virtues of the lamented dead shall be remembered by a loyal and grateful people. Just as the work had been completed, Rev. Mr. Carr of this city and Rev. Mr. Bowles of Boston, Mass., arrived at the tomb, and, as an appropriate closing of the labors of love and respect, Rev. Mr. Bowles offered an appropriate prayer, after which the assembly left the silent city of the dead. The occasion was one of solemn interest, and will long be remembered by those who were present.

In the State House we saw the design of Mr. Lincoln's monument soon to be erected. Tell Mr. Train that many persons in Springfield laughed at his epigram on the present tomb, and wondered that he should have thought that that plain brick wall, was all of it. From Springfield, I went to Bloomington, lectured before the Young Men's Association to a large audience, and met there many liberal men and women. I found that the Rev. Mr. Harrison had just fired a gun in the town paper on the lack of logic, in the Chicago Convention and women's intuitions in general. It amuses me to hear the nonsense these men talk. They say God never intended woman to reason, they shut their college doors against her, so that she cannot study that manly accomplishment, and then they blame her for taking a short cut to the same conclusion they reach in their round-about, lumbering processes of ratiocination. Do these gentlemen wish to set aside God's laws, pick up logic on the side walks, and go step by step to a point we can reach with one flash of intuition? As long as we have the gift of catching truth by the telegraph wires, neither the sage of Bloomington nor Robert Laird Collier of Chicago need ask us to go jogging after it in a stage coach, perchance to be stuck in the mud on the highways as they are. It is enough to make angels weep to see how the logicians, skilled in the schools, are left floundering on every field before the simple intuitions of American womanhood.

Finding the ladies of Bloomington somewhat scarified and nervous under the Rev.'s firing, like the good Samaritan, I tried to pour oil and wine on their wounded spirits, by exalting intuition, and with a pitiful and patronizing one deplored the slowness, the obtuseness, the materialism of most of the sons of Adam. It had its effect. They soon dried their tears, and with returning self-respect, they told me of all the wonderful things women were doing in that town. As I sat sipping my coffee and eating some baked apples, boiled eggs, good bread and butter, we chatted gaily and hopefully of the future, when the "white male" should be exorcised from all the creeds, the codes and the constitutions, and be driven beyond the Rocky Mountains. From the scintillations of wit, the fun and the laughter, an outsider would never have supposed that we were an oppressed class, and so hopelessly degraded in the statute laws and constitution. After the meeting we had a long talk with the clerical assailant, and were happy to find that the good man's pen had done his heart great injustice. He is rather morbid on the question of logic; but the most melancholy symptom of his disease is his hatred of THE REVOLUTION. He says it is a very wicked paper, that he had felt it his duty to warn his congregation against taking it, thus depriving us of, at least, five hundred subscribers, though he read it himself (under protest) regularly every week. Strange what a fascination evil things have even for those who minister at the altar! He advised me to strangle Train, gibbet the Financial editor, snub the Proprietor, and to say no more in the paper on the questions of Political Economy, until we had one and all studied the subject. Dear REVOLUTION, when I listened to those things, I had the same sinking of the heart that I used to feel, when neighbors complained that my boys were running over their house tops, dropping stones down the chimneys, ringing their bells then running away, throwing balls in their windows, and teasing the girls on the sidewalk. Now, I do

hope, dear REVOLUTION, that you will not bring my gray hair's with sorrow to the grave, but turn over a new leaf and adopt some Christian means to get these five hundred subscribers, without any of the atrocities above suggested. The Reverend gentleman said one thing that was like balm to my bruised spirit. He liked everything over the initials P. P. and E. C. S. Sub rosa, P. P., we must try and circumvent Train and fill the paper ourselves.

I met some grand women at Bloomington, one who has been a successful merchant in the dry goods business. She has not only supported herself and a family of children, but cleared \$5,000 in five years. Another lady is a furniture dealer; when her husband died she went on with the business, and although he was so much embarrassed that every one advised her to close up and save what she could, she has paid all the debts, saved a handsome sum of money, and been every way more successful than her husband before her. A Miss Walton is the head of an establishment where music and pianos are sold. She carries on a large business and has been very successful. She is a splendid looking woman with a noble, frank face and a head like Ben Franklin. All these women with their intuitions seem to be doing much better than many who can boast the gift of reason. I should not be surprised if, in the progress of events, men should come to think that woman's gift, after all, was the most desirable.

E. C. S.

[The junior editor differs most emphatically with his chief, relative to the article in question on Mrs. Lincoln. True, it "was written by a man." By one also, *every inch a man*. A man who for forty years has stood in the forefront of every battle for social, political and religious freedom. A man who has well earned the right to thus protest against a flagrant wrong and outrage, proposed to the laboring poor, to everybody. A man with a conscience, singularly scrupulous and tender in behalf of justice and right for the lowliest and humblest of the human family, especially the colored race and women. And a man too with a most anointed vision such wrongs to discern. He will never consent, nor will I, nor should any one, woman or man, to tax the poor, hard working, shilling-a-day earning women to pamper one woman's pride and vanity, who, through the war, was known to sympathize with the rebels, and who since, has been paid already more money by far than the average families of the country ever possess, or can earn by virtuous industry in a whole life. The world scorns, and so do I, all regard for the working women or any women, that does not severely, sternly protest against such injustice and cruelty as that, done in the very face and eyes of loyal soldier's widows and orphans begging in the streets. Mrs. Lincoln never would have presented such a petition to a Congress of women. Never. P. P.]

#### DINNER TABLE HINTS.

The Sorosis has abandoned its idea of a College for Cooks. THE REVOLUTION counseled its members to study the science of cookery themselves and teach their daughters and younger sisters at home. It would only be time and money lost to go and get up College for Bridget. The moment she graduated she would be snatched into matrimony, for the very reason that so far, *she would be fit for it*, and Sorosis would be as badly off as before.

Let Sorosis and the girls look into the sublime mysteries of the oven and frying-pan.

Meanwhile here is a charcoal sketch in the same line of affairs, from the *Chicagoan*. Should there be some day a College like that proposed, but now for the present abandoned, Jennie Hazen should be called to a professorship:

Very many people think it of small importance how the table looks, if there is only enough on it. I remember once offering to help a lady who was late about her dinner, and she told me to set the table. I asked her if she had any particular way in which she wished it to be set.

"O no," she replied, "just throw the dishes on, any way to get them on; that's the main point with me."

She spread on the table-cloth herself, or rather threw it on, all askew, so I laid it straight and proceeded to set the dishes upon it. Of course I arranged them to suit myself, and she served up the dinner to suit herself:

First, potatoes with the skins on.

Second, turnip with lumps in it.

Third, fried pork swimming in grease.

Fourth, bread in thick slices and thin slices.

Apple sauce in a yellow bowl and dried all around the edge.

Pickles with scum on them. Butter, on a plate that had done service for three or four meals. Pie, on the tin on which it was baked. Salt, in a cracked teacup and pepper in a tin pepper-box. Now this lady had a good set of dishes, and a nice castor, and might have set her table and served her dinner in good style; but she was careless, and thought it did not matter just how the things looked if they only tasted right. So she had material enough to have made a very inviting meal, but it had been served properly.

The question is how should she have done it? She should have set her table straight, in the middle of the room, and laid her cloth smoothly and nicely upon it. Her plates should have been alike; her knives and forks, her salt in the salt cellars, and her pepper in the castor. The potatoes should have been peeled, and put in a covered dish; her meat put upon a clean plate, no grease with it; the turnip should have been mashed until there was not a suspicion of a lump in it; the bread cut in uniform slices; her pickles rinsed free from scum; her apple-sauce in a neat oval dish; her butter on a clean plate, and the pie taken off the tin and placed upon a plate. Had it been thus served, very few persons with a good appetite would have found fault with it.

A dish of mashed potatoes may be an unsightly, unappetizing, pudding mass, dumped into a dish; or it may be a finely rounded and nicely smoothed cone, and may be deliciously browned, if it be set in a hot oven a few minutes. Mutton chops may be thrown higgledy-piggledy upon a plate so cold as to congeal the tallow and make a dish at which a well-bred terrier would turn up his nose; or they may be placed upon a hot platter, with the small ends placed one way and the large ends overlapping each other, or alternately large and small ends and the most fastidious need not refuse them.

Beef steak can be cooked and served so as to look just as inviting and juicy as a side of sole-leather.

A fowl may be roasted with wings spread, and leg sprawling in such a ridiculous manner as to excite the laughter of Deacon Longface, and at the same time create in his mind a doubt as to the propriety and Christian right of eating a thing which seems to be making such frantic efforts to escape.

I think, sometimes, that good cooking is a gift as rare as it is valuable, and to serve a dinner in good style is still rarer gift, and more seldom attained, for the obvious reason that too many are like my friend, and that it don't matter how it looks, if it tastes right.

JENNIE T. HAZEN.

WELL SPOKEN.—The Chicago *Liberal* says very justly:

The *Chicagoan*, till recently a purely literary journal, has taken a decided stand in favor of the entire independence of woman. It is conducted with ability and liberality, and is attracting marked attention by its interestlessness. THE REVOLUTION must look to its laurels. In addition to its many articles on social reform, the *Chicagoan* contains a large amount of light reading matter of a generally interesting character. The publisher, E. N. F. Lewis, is a man of marked energy, and has been very successful as a publisher. The editorship of the paper is in the right hands. Office, 113 Madison Street, Chicago.

## WOMEN TRAVELLING ALONE

Translated for THE REVOLUTION by Mrs. Miller from *Die Neue Welt*, St. Louis.

In the Woman's Rights meeting held on the evening of the 15th, of which our yesterday's number contained a long account, Miss S. B. Anthony made some remarks which she earnestly requested the reporters to give in detail. We gladly accede to her request.

Among the many acts of injustice done to woman because of her sex, is to be reckoned the treatment she receives from hotel-keepers, in travelling alone. In most states of the Union no woman unattended can find admission to a hotel. Whether she be young or old, whether of respectable appearance or not, she is rejected unless she can prove her respectability—no easy thing to do, on arriving in the dead of night, when the whole city is asleep. When Mrs. Minor, an elderly lady, the President of the Woman's Rights Society of this place, went to Washington about two weeks ago, to take part in the Convention, she was subjected to most painful embarrassment in being refused admission at Willard's hotel. No less disagreeable was the experience of the President of the "Chicago Sorosis," who arrived here at 1 o'clock at night, and was denied entrance at the "Planter's House." Mrs. Livermore, however, belongs fortunately to that class of women who are not easily intimidated. She seated herself, and, insisting on her own good right, ordered a room, declaring that she would not leave the house. In five minutes it was given her.

It is not alone the inconvenience caused to woman which was censured yesterday, but the indirect insult to which she is subjected, and which has not been properly resented. When a man comes to a hotel, it is not asked if he be a knave or otherwise disreputable. If he have "greenbacks" enough to pay for his room, he is politely received. Now, are the "greenbacks" of a woman of less value than those of a man?

A respectable lady arriving alone, is mercilessly rejected—but a lady who is not respectable, and has been refused admission will be received if she return with a gentleman. The leaders in the Woman's Rights movement have prayed earnestly that this question might be brought into open discussion—a demand in which they are entirely right. It is a matter in which every one is interested who has a mother, a wife, a sister, or any female relative.

Just now, when the movement for the complete and immediate granting to woman her rights, assumes such unusually large proportions—when conventions are held everywhere, and many women are journeying to reach them, this question is one of most serious import. On Saturday, for example, was the great Convention in Chicago; on Monday the prominent leaders of the "Sorosis" were here; yesterday they returned to Chicago to bring their cause before the legislature in Springfield, immediately after which, they go to a Convention in Milwaukee, and will then, without delay, begin to storm the Wisconsin legislature. All the north-western states will, in this way, be canvassed, and complaints of women in regard to their treatment in hotels seem thus to be fully justified.

We also give space to one of Miss Anthony's most earnest wishes, in regard to making public a second point. The ladies hereby wish to say to the members of the legislature in Jeffer-

son City, politely, but decidedly, that they should not waste time in deliberation; as Missouri must be the first state that shall have the honor to invest woman with the right of suffrage. According to a somewhat covertly-made intimation, the promise is fair that the State of Wisconsin, which recently gave the right of suffrage to the negro, will not withhold it from woman.

## ANOTHER LOST CAUSE.

If women insist on voting, they must expect to lose the social consideration they now receive. Imagine an election where a wash-woman with a pipe in her mouth, and with arms like an elephant's legs, offers your wife or sister a ticket, assuring them that it's the rule dimmy-crack ticket, be jabbers!

Thus, "the Rev. Dr. Thompson, of this city," enlivens the heavy pages of the *New Englander*, with the brilliant coruscation of his wit. It is certainly considerate towards the readers of the *New Englander*, but, like the frog in the fable, "it is death to us."

Of course, such cogent argument, such cruel logic, and such funny, funny illustration of the possible future of enfranchised women, forever extinguishes the hopes we have ventured to indulge of winning for ourselves "justice, not favors," and sufficiently answers in a single, powerful sentence, all the elaborate and forcible arguments of Beecher, Higginson, Theodore Parker, George W. Curtis, and John Stuart Mill, to say nothing of the able defence which Lucretia Mott, Mrs. Stanton, and other women, have urged with tireless patience, in behalf of right, and "suffering, sad humanity."

But all is ended now. The hope, and the fear, and the longing. The Rev. Dr. says we must expect to pay the heavy penalty of losing the social consideration we now receive, if we "insist on voting."

Dear REVOLUTION, pray don't insist upon it any more. Alack! how can we abide the threatened loss! How are we to endure existence, Mesdames, if we consent to forgo the "social consideration" which the courtesy of the class of whom the Rev. Dr. is a representative man, concedes to us, as non-voters? What is to become of the multitude of women who spend their energies daily for a mere pittance; the hundreds, for instance, who earn with gratitude, no doubt, *seven cents apiece*, for the making of gentlemen's summer coats, if, in addition to their present misfortunes, a vote is forced upon them, and they are thus forever debarred, by an ill-considered enthusiasm, for something named justice, from all "social consideration?" Isn't their lot hard enough already, that we should "insist" on increasing their misery? I suppose "social consideration," in some way or other, lightens their wearisome labor, or robs hunger of its pangs, or increases the value of the honestly earned trifles, for which they toil. Therefore, noble, but misguided women, I ask you to pause in your rash career and reflect!

It is a matter of regret that the gentleman who so ably exhausted the subject, in both its serious and its humorous aspect, did not definitely explain what the "social consideration," which we would rather die than lose, really is. A superficial thinker has been content to suppose it the tribute of respect due to honest merit and moral worth; the homage which good-breeding pays, not *gives*, to all that is noble, pure and good. But we regretfully recognize our mistake. All these Christian virtues combined would still forfeit the right to "social consideration" according to the Rev. author of

the article above quoted, the moment that they add to themselves, the persistent inclination to vote. We who have gone so far and foolishly wrong in our quest for right, need further enlightenment, and in a humble spirit of inquiry, I should like to ask if voting is popularly regarded as a respectable act?

George William Curtis, in his speech before the Constitutional Convention, at Albany, in 1867, pronounces "the mere act of dropping a ballot in a box, about the simplest, shortest, and cleanest, that can be done." And, if it is not respectable, is it not just to infer that the Rev. gentleman must annually sacrifice his respectability on the altar of his patriotism? If otherwise, it would be eminently instructive to know how the masterful logic which has effectually quashed our cause that erst looked so hopeful, would play about the subject of his own exercise of so dubious, not to say contaminating, an act.

The threat of social ostracism was quite enough to have broken our hearts, without the apt illustration. We read of the washer-woman with pipes, and elephant's legs (poor things!), and a brogue, and the while our spirit arrays itself in sackcloth and ashes. What if we had not been forewarned of the consequences, and had rushed on madly to our fate? Perhaps the Rev. Dr. can "imagine" the direful results, since he seems to have a gift that way, and can inform us all about it. It would be terribly interesting to know! That hapless "wash-woman" has a supernatural fascination for us. Her attributes are spectral, she makes us shudder, she refuses to be "laid" like the clothes she manipulates. We recall various specimens of the genus, all of whom, so far as our experience goes, were decent, honest, self-respecting. We confront the spectre, with our latest laundress, a native of Ireland, also. But she has no proclivities pipe-ward; her arms would hardly suggest "elephant's legs" to the most vivid imagination, although, by nature of her avocation, she has, luckily for herself and the family she helps to support, developed a good strong muscle. And, doubtless, should it ever happen to her to meet anybody's "wife or sister" at the polls, provided she should offer them a ticket at all, she would do it in a civil and quiet way, and with a perfectly inoffensive brogue. Really it is hard to comprehend how anybody's "wife or sister," even supposing her to be the most excessively delicate and fastidious specimens extant, could be in any way injured by such an encounter. We are almost tempted to speculate upon what must be the effect of a laundress in the "wife or sister's" kitchen for a whole day, if a moment's contact with her at the polls would be so deleterious,—but *cui bono?*

If the Doctor's logic had not "done for us," his wit would have compassed our destruction.

We have borne up womanfully against much opposition, contumely, and ignorant prejudice, but you see, of course you *must* see, dear Revolutionists, that our hour has come. It was reserved for a javelin of wit, barbed with a washer-woman, a pipe, and all the rest of it (vide quotation), to give us "our quietus." That unlucky washer-woman has done us to death.

ONE OF THE VANQUISHED.

AMONG the scholars, who, at a recent examination, distinguished themselves at the College of Subotica, was a Jewish young lady, aged fourteen. She received the gold medal as a reward for her proficiency in the Bosnian tongue.

## MR. HAMMOND'S SPEECH BEFORE THE CHICAGO CONVENTION.

REV. MR. HAMMOND of Chicago says, "One great objection to the extension of Suffrage to woman is, that it will interfere with the rights of infants. They have a right to be born and to be cared for by their mothers."

It is interesting to observe how suddenly men have awakened to an interest in infants; to a fear they will be abused or abolished. For six thousand years, women have been giving birth to children, nursing them, devoting their whole lives to them. Men have shirked not only the care but the training of their own children, throwing the responsibility upon over-burdened wives, and the wives have done the best their cramped lives would permit; have done nobly, if the present race lays any claim to nobility. But suddenly a set of men have taken alarm lest infants will be neglected or destroyed. But the maternal instinct is not so easily destroyed. It is stronger than woman's love for husband, for country, or sometimes even, for God. But two things can destroy it: these are vice and fashion. If men are fearful, let them direct their artillery against them. But Mr. Hammond's assertion that "it is woman's especial mission to bear children," I resent as an insult to our highest womanhood. Is it man's special mission in this world to become a father? God as evidently meant that men should be fathers as that women should be mothers; but there is a duty higher than this for both; to achieve a noble, perfect manhood and womanhood. It is even nobler to educate another's child into a great, good man, than to bear a dozen children you are incapable of training or providing for. The mere bearing of children is not noble though a million men should declare it so. It requires much to ennoble it. A woman must feel she is giving birth to a soul as well as to a body; a soul, whose training will require a grand soul in her. One such birth is worth a hundred among the grovelling, the imbecile and ignorant. Are men afraid the world will not be peopled fast enough, that they lay such stress on large families, and watch so jealously every interest women may feel beyond the nursery and the kitchen? If from twenty to thirty years of woman's life are, as Mr. Hammond says, to be devoted to this "especial work," then we are slaves indeed.

But women have souls, if Mr. Hammond does ignore the fact; souls God demands to be quickened, intellects struggling for activity, power calling for a larger purpose. These are as certainly hers and as certainly God's, given, as her sex! Shall she sacrifice these for the sake of sex? When eloquence burns in her heart and struggles to her lips; when her wisdom shows her the errors of men; when she feels the strength to encounter the giant enemies stalking abroad in the world; when God calls her to be up, using these gifts, shall she murder them all for the sake of sex, and cry, "I would, my God, but man bids otherwise."

Mr. Hammond, the whole race of women, if they could understand your words and are not too sunken in sex to possess nothing else, would cry out against you or any man, who dares thus insult their womanhood! Thousands of women in palaces and in humble homes; mothers holding their babes in their arms as well as legions of maidens, would feel their hearts burn with indignation and would spur a brother who can fling in our faces the insulting assertion that our physical sex constitutes our womanhood, and bearing children is our highest duty.

Go to the Salt Lake country with your Mormon sentiment. There women are revered for their capacity to give birth to children. Lavish your eloquence upon those slaves, but never insult noble, enlightened, free women by any such preference of their sex to their souls. Would it not be noble of men to say to us "Sisters, make the most of every faculty God has given you. We will give you room to use every gift. Be perfect, we, your brothers, will strive to make ourselves fit companions for what we wish you to become. Then our children, the generation which will take our places, will be better and happier than the generations gone by, because we have been wise." Or, is this more worthy of men, "Women, do not use your intellect much, it might harm your offspring. Do not read speeches or think of politics or finance, nor never let your enthusiasm get aroused, nor feel indignation at the stupidity or iniquity in the world; it will injure your unborn children. We will regulate public affairs, make laws for you. Do you say we do not check vice, that licentiousness goes rampant the world over! Well, it can't be helped, you know, dear. Don't think of such a thing as trying to remedy any of the evils of the world. It is true, you might succeed, but it might injure the disposition of your babe, and as for filling any public position where you would

have power to reach the evils of the world, it can't be thought of a moment, for then you would not wish to have so many children. No, no, we will do all this work, keep yourselves quiet, wait on us always, smile, shut your eyes and ears and thoughts to the world and bear children." Why is it hundreds curse God because they are women; thousands wish they had never been born, and millions feel a humiliation in belonging to the sex; to a class they think unavoidably subject, in home and in the state, to man's despotism? It is because millions of men like Mr. Hammond keep before women, like that "scarlet letter," the insult, "You were made to bear children!"

The best women of the land acknowledge the dignity and the holiness of noble motherhood, but they recognize it as but a portion of their duty. Around them lies the wicked world where their precious ones are to travel, and they see it not less their duty to go themselves and fill up the pitfalls men have left gaping for ages, where millions have gone down. These women do not destroy their unborn infants. Vanity and fashion induce women to do that deed, not great thoughts, great purposes nor even public duties. A woman may be a queen and the mother of a large family as Victoria. She may stand foremost in one of the greatest reforms the world has ever waited for, and still be the noble mother of a family, as Lucretia Mott or Mrs. Stanton. Does Mr. Hammond believe that casting a ballot once a year will interfere more with maternity than parties or prayer meetings? Would any public position women might fill in the nation, disipline her to motherhood so much as to be a leader of fashion? Would not a winter in Washington, out of Congress with its festivities, the excitement of display in dress and equipage, the rivalries, jealousies, late hours and excesses more unfit and disipline her for motherhood than a quiet home there with a seat in Congress?

As for staying in the kitchen or the secluded chamber for "twenty or thirty" years of our lives that the world may be more rapidly peopled, while our husbands and fathers and brothers go out in the active world, where our sympathies, inclinations and abilities are calling us, we will just say to Mr. Hammond and the whole race of men, we prefer to do as we please about the matter, and in all probability it will be as well for our offspring that we should do as we please, rather than be governed by the dictation of men. But is there any danger that all the married women of the land will rush into public position? How many laboring men of Chicago fill political offices or neglect their duties to vote? Our public men throughout the land are not one in a thousand of the male population. Shall we not be able to find in the land a few hundred intelligent single women or wise mothers of men?

Mr. Hammond is fearful "politics will not be purified if the 10,000 bad women of Chicago, and the 70,000 bad women of New York should vote." Are politics made pure by the voting of 50,000 bad men of Chicago, and the 300,000 lewd men of New York? When you will withhold the ballot from every man who is not "without sin among you," giving it only to the virtuous and wise, we will ask the ballot only for the virtuous and wise women of our country.

Mrs. H. P. JENKINS.

## A WASHINGTON CONVERT.

Editors of the Revolution:

I NEVER thought, or cared, about voting till the negroes began to vote. Then, I felt my self-respect rise. If educated women are not as fit to decide who shall be the rulers of this country, as "field hands," then where's the use of culture, or any brain at all? One might as well have been "born on the plantation." Thus I felt, and thus much I had revolved in my mind, until a few weeks ago, I quietly, and all to myself, became a convert to "Woman's Rights." Then came the National Convention at Washington, and Lucy Stone, Susan B. Anthony and Mrs. Stanton clenched my newborn ideas, and added zeal to my purpose; in other words, fury to the flame. Such convincing, unanswerable arguments as they gave, opened the eyes of all the women in these parts. Like the kitten, we have been a long time in opening them, but once opened, we shall be as hard to kill as the full grown cat. We never can be as ignorant as we were before. Some ideas of "the situation" were burned into my memory, by the thrilling utterances of those women, and sermons will never be as readily accepted again. With the countenance of such men as Senators Pomeroy, Wilson and Conkling, and Mr. Julian of the House, who must know more about the feasibility of the thing than we poor ignorant women, what have we to fear?

Of stately Mrs. Stanton, I am filled with admiration

and should love to see her side by side, in the Senate, with Charles Sumner and Gen. Nye; and Miss Anthony's eloquence and voice, would rise above the din and jargon of the House.

## THE MILWAUKEE CONVENTION.

THE Wisconsin Convention on the 25th and 26th of February seems to have been quite equal in all respects to its predecessor at Chicago and other places. Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony were accompanied to Milwaukee by Mrs. Livermore of Chicago, a new Western star of "bright particular effulgence," and the proceedings of the convention throughout were characterized by argument, eloquence, and interest beyond anything of the kind ever witnessed there before. The Milwaukee paper team with accounts of it, most of them of very friendly tone and spirit, even if opposed to the objects under consideration. The Evening Wisconsin said, if any one supposed for an instant that the call for a Woman's Suffrage convention would draw out only that class known as strong-minded, such a one was never more deceived in his or her life. At the opening of the convention yesterday, City Hall was crowded with as highly intelligent an audience of ladies and gentlemen as is ever gathered. There were school girls, there were young married men and old married women. Some were drawn to the hall out of curiosity, some from feelings of interest in what was going on.

At 2 o'clock the convention was called to order, and before the transaction of any business Susan B. Anthony took the stand. She spoke with earnestness of the wants of woman, and related her experience in "the field" from the time when she had been scrubbing the floor in the kitchen, when she saw before her a highly intelligent and under audience, assembled to consider carefully important bills. The great question of woman's suffrage was the subject of the discussion.

Her words were listened to with marked attention and much interest. Many of those present had read of Miss Anthony, but few had ever heard of the earnest, enthusiastic, fiery woman who sent every word home with a nervous vibration of the body and shake of the head and hand which every time meant business. Susan is a singular woman. No tyrant husband draws the tightest reins of control over her fair shoulders. She is wedded to her cause—and evidently that is the husband she wants. She is ready, apt, witty and what a politician would call sharp. She would quarrel with her needs a wit keener than a two-edged sword, or he falls ignominiously. She soon taught this lesson and was let alone. She is a radical in the strongest sense, and makes radical everything she touches. She wedded to the greatest tyrant in the world, she would conquer him.

Miss Anthony spoke a few minutes longer, then Mrs. Cady Stanton took the stand. She is the wheel horse of the great movement. She said she and Miss Anthony had never agreed upon making the question of woman's rights a political one, and gave the democratic party credit for doing much for the cause. She regarded the pending amendment to the constitution extending the right of suffrage to negroes as woman's destruction; for it would array still stronger opposition against it. There will be a new element in politics, and that element must be woman. She would introduce intelligence, virtue and honesty into politics. Women, the ignorant foreigners and Yankees less intelligent than women?

Mrs. Stanton's Right over they go hearing that raised his voice "Oh! has a calamity over one man who their determined on suffrage. She has been run with it and dory all, she is to tons!" Every visitation, a Suffrage will. Mrs. Stanton took the stand called by the afternoons politics and right to please and she had the same in Chicago—a the convention yesterday. City Hall was crowded with as highly intelligent an audience of ladies and gentlemen as is ever gathered. There were school girls, there were young married men and old married women. Some were drawn to the hall out of curiosity, some from feelings of interest in what was going on. At 2 o'clock the convention was called to order, and before the transaction of any business Susan B. Anthony took the stand. She spoke with earnestness of the wants of woman, and related her experience in "the field" from the time when she had been scrubbing the floor in the kitchen, when she saw before her a highly intelligent and under audience, assembled to consider carefully important bills. The great question of woman's suffrage was the subject of the discussion. Her words were listened to with marked attention and much interest. Many of those present had read of Miss Anthony, but few had ever heard of the earnest, enthusiastic, fiery woman who sent every word home with a nervous vibration of the body and shake of the head and hand which every time meant business. Susan is a singular woman. No tyrant husband draws the tightest reins of control over her fair shoulders. She is wedded to her cause—and evidently that is the husband she wants. She is ready, apt, witty and what a politician would call sharp. She would quarrel with her needs a wit keener than a two-edged sword, or he falls ignominiously. She soon taught this lesson and was let alone. She is a radical in the strongest sense, and makes radical everything she touches. She wedded to the greatest tyrant in the world, she would conquer him. Miss Anthony spoke a few minutes longer, then Mrs. Cady Stanton took the stand. She is the wheel horse of the great movement. She said she and Miss Anthony had never agreed upon making the question of woman's rights a political one, and gave the democratic party credit for doing much for the cause. She regarded the pending amendment to the constitution extending the right of suffrage to negroes as woman's destruction; for it would array still stronger opposition against it. There will be a new element in politics, and that element must be woman. She would introduce intelligence, virtue and honesty into politics. Women, the ignorant foreigners and Yankees less intelligent than women?

Mrs. Stanton said that the advocates of Woman's Rights were regarded as plagues wherever they go. She had heard of one man who, hearing that they were expected in this city, raised his hands in holy horror and exclaimed, "Oh! has it come here at last? I hoped such a calamity would be averted!" And in Kansas one man was heard to exclaim, on learning of their determination to visit that state and insist on suffrage, "Alas, for poor bleeding Kansas! She has been tormented with jayhawkers, overrun with border ruffians, visited with famine and devoured with grasshoppers, but worse than all, she is to receive a visitation from these agitators!" Every man may as well prepare for this visitation, set his house in order, for woman suffrage will soon be with him.

Mrs. Mary A. Livermore, of Chicago then took the stand, and made what the *Wisconsin* called by far the most womanly address of the afternoon. She commenced by ignoring politics and declaring that no person had the right to pledge the woman to either party. She said she had just received a letter from a lady in Chicago—a lady who lived on Michigan avenue a crowded in that city, who said: "I thank God that the hour has come. I am a woman who has all the money that she wants, but am unhappy. My home is at the same time a heaven and a hell. I have a husband whose heart is with another, and mine only in name—I have children whose father cares nothing for them." Such was the sentiment of many letters she received. She related several incidents that were touching and which had come under her notice.

A poor woman who had earned a small amount by scrubbing the Bridewell in Chicago, found to sorrow that it had been secured by her husband under the garnishee law, to liquidate old liquor bills. Another woman had by years of toil put in bank \$612, with which she hoped to secure a home, and just as she saw her end nearly accomplished, her husband discovered her secret—drew the money and decamped for New York, taking with him her only aid, a son 19 years of age. She concluded by remarking that they had come to persuade the women, and thus convince the men, and her remarks were so sensible that they deserve longer notice than we are enabled to give. Mrs. Annecke, Mrs. Stanton, Mr. G. W. Peckham, Mrs. Livermore, and others, made brief speeches, when the convention adjourned until evening, after the Chair was appointed the following Committee on Resolutions: Dr. Laura J. Ross, N. S. Murphey, Mrs. Livermore, Madam Annecke, Geo. W. Peckham and Rev. Mr. Gannett.

The evening session was even more fully attended than the morning, and about 7½ o'clock was called to order.

Mrs. Stanton delivered an address on the question of Woman's Suffrage, offering the following resolutions as its basis:

Resolved, That a man's government is worse than a white man's government, because in proportion to increase the rulers you make the condition of the ruled more hopeless and degraded.

Resolved, That, as the cry of "a white man's government" created an antagonism between the Irish and the Negro, culminating in the New York riots of '63, so the white man's cry of "Manhood Suffrage" creates an antagonism between the black man and all women, and will culminate in fearful outrages on womanhood, especially in the southern states.

Resolved, That by the establishment of an aristocracy in the district of Columbia, by the introduction of the word "male" into the Federal constitution in article 2, and by the proposition to enforce manhood suffrage in all the states of the union, the republican party has been guilty of three excessively arbitrary acts, retrogressive steps in legislation, alike invidious and insulting to woman, and suicidal to the nation.

Mrs. Stanton's address was able and was listened to with much interest. After she had concluded, Miss Anthony offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the best men and women of Milwaukee, in convention assembled, demand the passage of the pending bill submitting the question of Female Suffrage to the people.

The resolution was almost unanimously adopted.

The officers of the convention were, for President—Rev. Miss Augusta J. Chapin. Vice-Presidents—O. P. Wolcott, M.D., Laura J. Ross, M.D., and Madame Mathilde F. Annecke. Secretary—Miss L. Peckham.

So far the first day only and this but a meagre skeleton. The second day was even more crowded than the first, the interest increasing in proportion. The following resolutions were adopted with several others:

Whereas, All governments ought to be formed for the benefit of the governed, and

Whereas, Our government was formed for this declared purpose, and taxation and representation should be coextensive; therefore

Resolved, That while we would not undervalue other methods, the right of suffrage is, in our opinion, the corner-stone of all permanent progress, since we seek not to protect woman, but rather to place her in a position to protect herself.

Resolved, That as the primary idea of the American polity is founded upon the idea of the equality of all, to longer exclude one-half of our citizens is foreign to the memorable Declaration of Independence, and subversive of a republican form of government.

Resolved, That since civil and political rights know no sex, therefore the word *male* should be stricken from every state constitution, and not admitted to the Federal constitution.

Resolved, That the ballot once placed in the hands of woman will tend to give her free and speedy access to the best means of education, and to blot all barbarous and unequal laws relating to marriage and women from our statute books.

Mrs. Stanton showed very eloquently that the laws of the Bible did not prohibit the elevation of woman to all the rights of a man. The doctrine of the Bible, that the woman should keep silence in the church was local and applicable to those times and not to the present, any more than the injunctions "honor the King," "render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's," applied to our forefathers, when they came to this country to establish a government on the principle that "all men are born equal." Mrs. Stanton cited cases from the Bible of women who had taught, advised and prophesied for men—Miriam, Ruth the Queen of Sheba, Vashti and Deborah—were admitted to the rights and privileges that the men enjoyed, and no one has ever accused them of going out of their sphere.

The great spread of the Methodist Church was due to the fact that women were allowed to speak and exhort as well as the men. Mrs. Stanton treated her subject in a masterly way, and held the attention of her audience, during the entire speech, not only by her eloquence, but by her lady-like manner, and her fascinating voice, which though soft and sweet could be heard in any part of the room.

The room was well filled, and we noticed that a great part of the gentlemen present were either of the clerical, legal or medical profession.

Of the personal appearance of some parties present the *Wisconsin* says:

Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton's hair is white as silver; but her face is fair and young; few can withhold from her the need of personal admiration. She is certainly delightful to gaze upon, and embodies in her person the noblest type of the American matron. Her white hair curves closely about her fine forehead; her dark eyes, quick and earnest, flash under their wide arches, clear-

ectors of every feeling and thought within. Her features are noble, the lines of the mouth as sweet as they are strong, her address rich and quiet. Her entire presence indicates a woman born to the highest sphere in human life. She carries the charm of fine breeding into all her public speech. Whatever she says, she says it as a woman who can never be false to her own fine sense of refinement; says it, too, with theunction of deep feeling and the acute discrimination of clear thought. She has powerful magnetism as a public speaker, for all the forces of her rich personalities seem fused into her words. She is logical, earnest and eloquent, and never mannish in manner.

Susan B. Anthony is the embodiment of energy and will. Of the nervous temperament, tall, muscular, and strong featured—with quick eyes and ears, a sharp tongue and a kindly smile—she is as much at home in a public chair as most women are by their cradles. She has great talent for business, for dispatch, for executive labor; and, whether she managed a house or steered a ship, she would do it with equal vim. With her stately form, spectacles, strong jaw and capacious mouth, she seems the most formidable type of the strong-minded. Yet she is not uncomely; and no woman with her smile could help having a kind heart.

#### GRACE GREENWOOD AND DRESS REFORM.

##### Editors of the Revolution:

In a late number of your journal I noticed an account of the National Suffrage Convention in Washington, by Grace Greenwood, in which she wandered away from her subject to discuss the propriety of Dr. Mary Walker's costume; and characterized it as "fearfully hybrid," an "idiotic eccentricity," "indecent," etc., and denounced all wearing it as "anomalous creatures," devoid of mental and moral culture, and "thirsting for vulgar notoriety." My dear "Grace," are you aware of the fact that it is the easiest thing in the world to apply bitter epithets and sarcastic comments to persons, or things, that differ from our prescribed ideas of right and propriety? I have a distinct recollection of a very good and pure personage who was called "Beelzebub," "wine-bibber, and gluttonous," by those who were prejudiced against his innovating truths. I am not aware, however, that their applying such epithets, really proved that he merited them.

Dr. Walker, or any other individual, should stand upon her own merits. No individual can represent any other individual, or class of individuals. In the sight of God, if not in the sight of man, every person has an individuality of his or her own. Therefore, to assert that all who wear the reform dress (or American costume) are deficient in intellectual ability, and moral force, desirous of notoriety, etc., is not only palpably unjust, but evinces a spirit of wicked prejudice, and a bigoted, unchristian illiberality.

No one with a truly enlightened soul would denounce the church as nugatory, or Christianity as a spiritual non-entity, because the sacred desk is frequently invaded by knavery and sensuality, and a vast majority of professing Christians are hypocrites. Religion would still remain the same pure and elevated principle.

Because a few may be prompted by notoriety, or any other unallowed motive, to wear the reform dress, or may be deficient in brain calibre, or lack culture and refinement—do not, therefore, make a wholesale condemnation of all who wear the costume. More justly might you say that all who wear the *fashionable* style of dress were devoid of brains, force of character, and worthy aspirations, because a majority of them are.

It is the direst injustice to impeach those who wear the reform dress with the motive of noto-

riety, or to assert that they are actuated by a blind or insane fanaticism. Many of them are as pure, as noble, as cultivated women as ever blessed any nation or clime; and nothing but a sense of highest duty, a desire to do what conscience, guided by an enlightened reason, dictated as right, could induce them to brave the opposition of tyrannical fashion, and a perverted public opinion.

Grace Greenwood, like many others, denounces the reform dress, not from any true physiological, or philosophical reason, but because it is in defiance of "social laws" and "proprieties." This, being rightly interpreted, simply means, it isn't *fashionable*.

Now let me ask, are "social laws" and social standards of "propriety" always *right*? If so, why this great and constant upheaval of humanity's soul for something nobler, truer, better? Why this restlessness, if "social laws" and "proprieties" are not chafing, degrading to the intuitions of our higher nature? And is not, and has not *every* reform been in direct defiance of "social laws," an innovation upon effete proprieties? Was not this very Suffrage Convention, and its object, which Grace Greenwood eulogizes, and claims a deep sympathy with, in defiance of "social laws," in defiance of social "proprieties," and even "decencies"? Were it not for innovations upon "social laws" and customs there would be no progression, and the world would settle down in one great cesspool of mental, moral, and political stagnation. The object of all true reforms is to bring "social laws" and customs up to a right and just standard.

When this is achieved, we will have a realization of the millennium. Until then there will be a moral necessity for promulgating revolutionary and reformatory truths; and every reformer must expect to meet with bitter prejudice, ridicule, and opposition. This has been the history of every reform. Though we profess to be a liberal and progressive people, yet we see the same malignant spirit of prejudice, illiberality, and opposition manifested against reformatory truths that has ever characterized humanity. Even those who have introduced reforms, and struggled onward through every opposing element until their object was achieved, turn round and oppose other reforms with a bitter, unchristian spirit.

As Miss Anthony has warned us to limit our articles, I cannot now present the physiological and moral claims of the reform dress; nor show how the physical, mental, and moral necessities of women demand imperatively this reform. I simply ask all to brush the scales of custom and prejudice from their eyes and look at the dire effects of this demoralizing, all-devouring power of fashion. Health of body and mind, beauty, and happiness trampled unscrupulously beneath her feet, woman voluntarily bound hand and foot, soul and body, with her galling chains.

Yours, for reform,  
Mrs. M. STEPHENSON ORGAN, M.D.  
"Eden Home," Cable, Ohio.

THAT'S SO.—The Martin County (Minn.) *Atlas* says: Show us the man that from the bottom of his heart, laying aside his prejudices and speaking the unbiased truth, who will not say that women should have the same rights that he himself enjoys, and we will show you a narrow minded sycophant, a cruel, selfish tyrant, or one that has not the moral courage to battle for a principle he knows to be just. Equal rights before the law is justice to all, and the more education we give our children and ourselves, as a people, the sooner will we have equal rights. May the glorious cause speed on.

#### ENGLISH CORRESPONDENCE

MANCHESTER, February, 1869.

The cause of Woman's Suffrage and of every other liberal and progressive movement has recently sustained a serious loss in the death of Mr. Ernest Jones. It occurred at his residence in Broughton, near Manchester, after a short illness, which began with a cold and was aggravated by attending a public meeting about ten days before his decease. Mr. Jones had just been selected, by a large majority of the liberal party, as the candidate-elect to represent Manchester in a vacancy that is likely to occur on account of the illegal return of the Tory member. This preparatory election was made by the liberal voters of the constituency, amongst themselves, by means of the ballot, as a test of the efficacy of that method, and is regarded as perfectly satisfactory. Mr. Jones's last speech in public was on this occasion. He expressed his anxious desire to be returned to Parliament in these memorable words: "I cannot afford to wait very long. When a man gets to fifty he must make the best use of his time. I believe there is some strength and working power still left in me, but it must be taken out speedily, or it will be soon lost altogether." He uttered these words in the apparent fulness of health and strength. The following Monday he attained the age of fifty. On Tuesday, his brave, poetic, liberty-loving soul "went up higher."

One of the best speeches made at the annual meeting of the Manchester National Society for Woman's Suffrage was by Mr. Ernest Jones. Professor Newman, in his able resume of our working the past year, thus refers to it: "Another argument we rejoice to see, now emphatically expressed by Mr. Ernest Jones, in the great Manchester meeting of Oct. 30. The diversity of mind in man and woman which is adduced as a reason for stripping woman of legal protection, is really a reason for giving to woman full legal equality, in the interests not of females only, but also of the whole community. Neither is the man complete without the woman, nor the woman without the man. The wisdom of each separately is imperfect, so is man's work, the law. Each sex is a complement to the other. As the conviviality of isolated males, is on the average, less pure for the absence of woman, so is law less just and the executive action less humane, in the absence of their counsel and vote." In a former letter I mentioned Mr. Jones's brief description of the annual meeting. On his way home from it, in the Broughton omnibus, he said to a friend: "I attended, to-day, one of the most important meetings ever held in Manchester, a meeting to promote the Suffrage for woman. It consisted of some of the most respected ladies and gentlemen of the locality." "You don't approve of that movement?" queried an objector. "I certainly do," rejoined Mr. Jones. "I consider it not only just, but in the highest degree expedient, that women should have the right of voting."

A simple narrative of his life will be the most appropriate *immortelle* we can place on the bier of this champion of freedom. The history of his public life conveys its own moral of political purity, rare disinterestedness, and unswerving devotion to the cause of the people, through evil report and good report. Ernest Jones's family, though originally of Welsh origin, had been for the last 500 years settled in England. His father was Major Charles Jones of the 15th Hussars. He was equerry to the late Duke of

Cumberland (uncle to Queen Victoria), who became King of Hanover under the title of Ernest I. When Major Jones retired from active service, he accompanied the duke on a visit to the Prussian Court, and his son was born at Berlin, on Jan. 25, 1819, and named Ernest after his royal godfather. Major Jones bought an estate in Hesse, and resided there with his family, on the borders of Black Forest, till the year 1838. In the midst of this rural district and surrounded by romantic scenery, the "youth sublime" of the young poet was nourished. At ten years of age he made a translation of the first canto of Voltaire's "Henriade," which was published with other poems by the young author in Hamburg 1830. A characteristic anecdote of the future chartist and democratic leader is told of this period. Full of admiration at the heroism of the Poles during their great struggle of 1830-31, he disappeared from home, and, being with some difficulty traced, the truant, then only eleven years of age, was found, with a bullet under his arm, half way across Lauenberg, in the midst of the Black Forest, on his way, as he expressed himself, "to help the Poles." Ernest received instruction from tutors and his college life began. He entered, by special favor of the King of Hanover, at the College St. Michael Luneberg, to which the sons of the local nobility alone had access. Here his oratorical powers won great applause, and his farewell address before the *élite* assembled on the occasion, was published at the request of the college. The certificate of honor he obtained on leaving St. Michael's was one of the highest he had ever accorded. In 1838, Ernest Jones came to England with his family, to reside there permanently. In 1841, he was presented to the Queen, and was for some years a regular visitor to Court. About this time he married Miss Atherton, the daughter of an old Conservative family in Cumberland. But neither his aristocratic nature and alliance, nor the allurements of the court and fashionable life could extinguish the love of liberty and devotion to literature in the young aspirant. His romance called, "The Wood Spirit," and his poem, "My Life," successively appeared, and were highly commended by the *Reviews* of the day. In 1844, he was called to the bar, but he didn't continue to practice as a barrister. Although he had the most promising professional prospects and the fine social advantages, he abandoned both to devote himself to the interests of the working classes. In 1845, he joined the Chartist agitation, and from that time till 1848, he was constantly engaged for that party. He passed from town to town, throughout Great Britain, frequently addressing two, sometimes three great gatherings in one day—probably attending more meetings and delivering more lectures, from the time of his entering political life, up to the present, than any man living; and it is recorded that he never would accept payment for his labors. Though performing more work than the most overworked office-clerk, he never held any post of emolument, and never would receive any salary or recompense, though conventions and conferences repeatedly voted that he should. All the income he derived from other sources he spent upon political advocacy.

The prominent part taken by Ernest Jones in the Chartist movement, his growing popularity and the strength and consistency he imparted to that agitation rendered him peculiarly obnoxious to the government of that day. Opportunity was long and eagerly sought to silence him by an arrest and prosecution. At last, in

June, 1848—that year of revolutions—when the popular power had reached its height and serious disturbances had occurred in several of our northern towns. Mr. Jones, in addressing an open air meeting of some 15,000 people in London, made use of language, in condemnation of wrongs, and defiance of the powers that be, that was construed into a treasonable incitement to rebellion. A warrant was issued and he was arrested in Manchester, a few days later, on a charge of sedition. When examined before the magistrates in London, Mr. Jones offered no defence. He complimented the principal witness—from the *Times* newspaper—on his accuracy, saying that “he had given a verbatim report of the sentiments he had expressed, and which he still entertained, believing them to be the sentiments of justice and truth.” The trial took place on July 10th. Ernest Jones was convicted and sentenced to two years’ solitary confinement, and was further ordered to find sureties, and was bound over to keep the peace for three years. This sentence was executed with the utmost rigor. Its severity was strongly reprobated even by the press that had stigmatized him hitherto as “that Chartist,” “the braggadocio agitator,” and the “ultra-radical.” In recent publication, Mr. Jones has given some of the facts relating to his treatment in prison: “He was kept in solitary confinement on the silent system, enforced with rigor. For nineteen months he was neither allowed pen, ink, nor paper, but confined in a small cell, thirteen feet by six, in utter solitude, varied only by a solitary walk in a small, high-walled prison yard. He obeyed all the prison regulations, except as to picking oakum, observing that, for the sake of public order, he would seek to conform to all forms and rules, but would never lend himself to voluntary degradation. To break his firmness on this point, he was again and again imprisoned in a dark cell and fed on bread and water. On one occasion, while cholera was raging in London, this punishment was enforced, though the object of it was suffering from dysentery at the time, and he was consigned to a dark cell, from which a man dying from cholera had just been removed. But such efforts were in vain. The prison authorities never succeeded in making him perform the degrading labor task. In the second year of his imprisonment, Mr. Jones was so broken in health that he could no longer stand upright—he was found lying on the floor of his cell, and then only taken to the prison hospital. He was then told that if he would petition for his release and promise to abjure politics, the remainder of his sentence would be remitted. But he refused his liberty on these conditions, and was re-consigned to his cell. During his imprisonment, and before writing materials were allowed him, he wrote some of his most admired poems. He made pens from quills that occasionally dropped from the wing of a passing bird in the prison yard. These he cut secretly with a razor, which was brought to him twice a week to shave. An ink bottle he contrived to make from a piece of soap he got from the washing shed, and this he filled with ink, from the ink bottle, when he was allowed to write his quarterly letter. Paper was supplied by those quarterly letters, the fly-leaves of a Bible, prayer-book, and any books he was allowed to read. One poem—“The New World”—was composed before he had succeeded in securing ink, and this we read, was written almost entirely with his blood. The other poems written in prison were—“The Painter of Florence,”

published by Routledge, “Beldagoa Church,” and a number of smaller pieces, all of which were highly praised in the *Reviews* of the day.

In 1850, when his term of imprisonment had expired Mr. Jones resumed his active connection with the People’s Union, of which he became the inspiration and one of the foremost men. He established a people’s paper and a magazine also to further his political reforms. While engaged in one of his lecturing campaigns, which were causing much excitement in the country, he was sent for by an uncle, whose heir-at-law he was, and threatened with being cut off without a shilling if he persisted in the advocacy of such “extreme principles.” Mr. Jones refused to compromise his principles. His uncle died soon after and left his fortune of £2,000 a year to a stranger. In 1852, he initiated the movement for a “Labor Parliament,” which afterwards met in Manchester.

In 1858, the Manhood Suffrage movement was originated by Ernest Jones, with a view of superseding the Chartist organization by one that would be new and vigorous and unite the middle and working classes on a common basis of action. He was unanimously elected President, and voted a salary of eight pounds a week. He accepted the office, but refused the salary, though repeatedly urged to accept. Mr. Jones’s newspaper enterprises, though conducted with all the energy and earnestness that were his leading characteristics, proved financial failures. Domestic calamities also darkened his path. His wife died in 1857, of a tedious malady, brought on by her anxiety and sufferings during the imprisonment of her husband. Even in this trying period of his life he found time to compose two volumes of poetry. The “Emperor’s Vigil” and “Corayda.” His pecuniary losses obliged him to resume his practice at the bar, and since 1859, he had gained a position in his profession sufficient to prove what he might have attained to had he not sacrificed his prospects to his convictions. During the Fenian trials in Manchester in 1867, he received a marked compliment from Mr. Justice Blackburne of which he was very proud. The Judge thanked Mr. Jones “for having aided the cause of justice by one of the most proper and most able defences he ever remembered to have heard.”

But we need scarcely say, during his professional engagement in these last ten years, Ernest Jones has never relinquished the political labors to which the best part of his life has been devoted. His name is familiar as a household word in the ranks of the advanced liberal party as a speaker at popular meetings, as one who understood the slaveholders policy and denounced the rebellion in the United States, and as an advocate of Manhood Suffrage, and since the question has come up, of Womanhood Suffrage also. As the chosen representative of working men who sought a spokesman in Parliament, Mr. Jones had just attained the highest position in the public mind. One of the letters he received a few days before his death, was an application from the “Central Amnesty Committee,” which had its headquarters in Dublin, with the request that he would address a meeting of the “Society for the Release of Political Prisoners” to be held in Dublin at an early date, under the presidency of the Lord Mayor. Had he lived, no more appropriate speaker could have been found to plead the cause of the poor Fenians at Portland prison. I must not omit to mention a famous passage of arms intellectual, in which Ernest Jones was engaged and bore a valiant part a few years ago in Edin-

burgh. The subject was, “The merits of Democratic Institutions.” He took the affirmative on the question with his usual force and vigor. Professor Blackie opposed him. In this contest his classical attainments enabled him to contend with the learned Professor on his own ground, when the discussion turned on the influence of democracy on the fate of the ancient Republics. Ernest Jones’s character is thus summed up in one of the most widely circulated of our local papers. “Intellectually, the basis of his nature was poetic. He had a strong imagination, and an excessive susceptibility of temperament. These qualities supplied the medium through which he looked at all things. He was impulsive, impressive and sanguine, quick in seizing upon conclusions, and ever ready for speech, which with him meant action. The world he saw was not the real world, with its endless shades and modifications, softening the actual and limiting the attainable, but an ideal world, the offspring of noble sentiment and readily kindled enthusiasm. When he looked upon the inequalities of English society, upon the sufferings of many of the poor and the selfishness of many of the rich, his soul glowed with indignation; he reflected, but his reflections were swayed by impulses beyond the control of the observant and logical faculties; he took fire at once, and flared away in indignation which was sometimes mistaken and misapplied, but which was never ignoble.”

Mr. Jones has left a wife and four sons of his first marriage, one of whom has just won a scholarship in the University of Oxford.

At the Committee for Woman Suffrage this week, the petitions to be addressed to Parliament when it reassembles, were decided upon and ordered to be prepared for circulation all over the country. The general petition is in the following form:

*To the Honorable the Commons of the United Kingdom in Parliament Assembled.*

*The Humble Petition of the Undersigned*

Sheweth That the exclusion of persons legally qualified in every respect but that of sex, from voting in the election of Members of your Honorable House is injurious to those excluded, and to the community.

Your petitioners, therefore, humbly pray that your honorable House will pass a measure granting the Suffrage to women who fulfil the conditions required of men.

There is another form for Women Householders, whose names are omitted or were refused to be registered as voters, and who claim to be represented and to vote on the same conditions as men. Petitions from women freeholders in the counties and separate petitions from women who are especially aggrieved by nonrepresentation are also to be sent in.

Our Committee has forwarded to Mrs. Jones a note of condolence and sympathy in the great loss and sudden bereavement which she and his family have sustained in the death of her husband, whose cordial advocacy of the cause of Woman Suffrage we so warmly appreciated.

Early this month the second half of the annual session of study for ladies intending to practice Midwifery commenced at the Medical College for Women, 4 Fitzroy Square, London. Three additional courses of lectures are now beginning—one on “Diseases of Women,” by Dr. C. R. Drysdale; one on “Diseases of Infants” by Dr. George Ross, and one on “Materia Medica” by Dr. John Lacking. You will be pleased to learn that this announcement denotes progress in this matter, even in our slow country.

Yours truly, B. M.

# The Revolution.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, } Editors.  
PARKER PILLSBURY, }  
SUSAN B. ANTHONY, Proprietor.

NEW YORK, MARCH 11, 1869.

To SUBSCRIBERS.—How to SEND MONEY.—For large sums, checks on New York banks or bankers, made payable to the order of Susan B. Anthony.

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may be obtained at nearly every county seat, in all the cities, and in many of the large towns. We consider them perfectly safe, and the best means of remitting fifty dollars or less, as thousands have been sent to us without any loss.

REGISTERED LETTERS,

under the new system, which went into effect June 1st, are a very safe means of sending small sums of money where P. O. Money Orders cannot be easily obtained. *Observe, the Registry fee, as well as postage, must be paid in stamps at the office where the letter is mailed, or it will be liable to be sent to the Dead Letter Office. Buy and affix the stamp both for postage and registry, put in the money and seal the letter in the presence of the postmaster, and take his receipt for it.* Letters sent in this way to us are at our risk.

CALL FOR THE EQUAL RIGHTS ANNIVERSARY.—It will be issued very soon. The old anniversary flags may be hauled down, perhaps might have been long ago, without serious loss to mankind. But while the Equal Rights Association stands as it now does, the hope of humanity, even though the "Forlorn Hope," there will be an anniversary week in New York, until equal liberty is proclaimed throughout the land, to all the inhabitants thereof.

To SUBSCRIBERS.—All our back numbers are gone, and we can hereafter supply the paper to subscribers from the date of their subscriptions only.

THE NEW CABINET.

THE new Cabinet took everybody by surprise. At least, so almost everybody said. Why should not everybody have been surprised? Everybody had candidates to offer, or wished to be a candidate himself. And nearly all had to be disappointed. Only half a dozen men or so, were required. But the offers reached thousands if all the aspirants be included. The republicans supposed when they nominated General Grant, after all the feasting, dining, wineing, presents of horses, houses, furniture, cigars and money in one evening to the amount of one hundred thousand dollars, that he would not forget the hands that thus fed him, when he was raised to power. But he did forget them, almost the whole of them. In so many words he told the modest Mr. McClure that he "was the representative of no party," and by one stunning act, he has told the country he wants nothing to do with the party hacks and professional brokers in politics, even of the party that elected him.

The republicans, however, need not be stunned nor surprised at that, or anything else he may do. They slimed him over with their gifts and adulations, preparatory to swallowing him at Chicago, because they fancied they knew his vulnerable point, judging him

by themselves and the age, and then nominated him, knowing that if they did not the democrats would, and that he was the only man in the nation sure to be elected. Availability alone nominated Andrew Johnson. Availability alone nominated his illustrious successor. Franklin Pierce, it is said, is often reminded that he is under great obligation to James Buchanan for making so bad an administration, as that his own, which preceded it, seems quite respectable in comparison. The same may happen again. Republicanism thought it was secure. But even it will have to learn that

The best laid schemes o' mice and men  
Gang aft agley.

The Cabinet selections are indeed remarkable, but that should or might have been expected. No such cabinet-maker was ever employed before. But all minor whirlpools of surprise are swallowed in that over the Treasury appointment. Congress was struck with *numb palsy* at the bare announcement of the Cabinet. The House, it is reported, remained in "suspended animation" for the space of ten or twenty minutes.

Mr. Stewart's appointment is indeed the most remarkable on many accounts. In the first place he is absolutely ineligible to fill the office, however capable. This, the President did not know, which shows that he was not very cunning after all in keeping his selections so secret. Perhaps Congress could not have helped him to knowledge, had he asked it. Somebody, it appears, had to tell Congress that there was a law expressly to keep the like of Mr. Stewart out of that most important bureau. For the Senate forthwith confirmed him unanimously. And good reason there is too for that law. He is, perhaps, the first merchant of the country in wealth and in success. In this market he imports dry-goods to the value of \$25,000,000 a year, and is the largest buyer of gold in the market to pay duties on imports. No doubt he believes in a contraction of the currency; and with these views, and the place he holds, no man can have so much power over the currency as himself. His wealth is reported at not less than fifty millions of dollars. There is a penalty of three thousand dollars against any such man holding the office which might excite antagonism of interests between him and the government. Congress and almost everybody else, it appears, had forgotten the statute, as it was passed full eighty years ago. Congress, too, and almost everybody else, had forgotten or never knew that the President does not have to sign constitutional amendments proposed by Congress. And Mr. Lincoln, they say, actually did sign the thirteenth or fourteenth article. And all can remember, a few weeks ago, what apprehension was felt and every where expressed that the veto of Andrew, surnamed Johnson, might defeat the passage of the fifteenth. And the first message of President Grant to Congress was asking to have that old act of 1789 repealed. Surely a bad beginning enough!

But the people have other reasons than its illegality, did they but know it, against the Stewart appointment. He was taken up because he is rich. That was all. How he became so, is not thought of. Honest, productive labor, at present prices, enables a man to acquire a few thousand dollars and train respectably a family. Stewart boasts almost incredible millions, and never produced anything. Neither, it is said, did it come by rise of price in real estate. That is generally held to be

an honest mode of amassing wealth, however enormous in amount. But it is rather land piracy. The earth is for man, all men and women, not for robbers. Land speculators are robbers of God and of man. Whoever holds an acre, or a corner lot, only as speculator, waiting for price, plunders the poor. He has the same right to parcel out the sea, or the air, and claim it as his property, and forbid its occupation but at his price and by his permission. The most stupendous robbery ever heard of has existed in Great Britain from William the Conqueror to the present hour.

A. T. Stewart has appropriated, not the land but its products, the avails of long years of toil by many thousands of men and women, and claims them as his own. He was born in Ireland seventy years ago, and has been fifty years in this country in what is called "successful business." And now, at an age when he should retire from public gaze, he is called to the most important trust in the nation's gift, except the presidency itself, only because of that "success." And the fulsome press is full of sickening plaudits about the "strict honesty and justice with which his business has ever been conducted!" His, the most unscrupulous monopolist of trade known even to New York! His immense fortune he never produced, never earned. Thousands like him together, never could have done it honorably. Most of its producers are poor. Compared with him, they are all poor. Poor because they earned or acquired wealth, and he appropriated it. And so successful has he been, that he is now appointed to forage or pillage for the government; to pillage the laboring people for the government. If he has served himself so bounteously for half a century, what may the labor of the country expect now that he has taken the government into partnership? No wonder our grandsires enacted the law of 1789!

Labor should ask itself and A. T. Stewart how such a fortune as fifty millions is acquired? And it should ask the President why he distinguished and honored such a man, even were there no law against it? The fact that he is so rich should be his condemnation, not his promotion. Legislation that breeds such monsters should be repudiated, not encouraged and continued. They are too awfully expensive. Sharks they are, devouring all more wholesome and useful fish. It must, in the very nature of things, be disastrous to the industrious producing and only needful and healthful portion of the body politic. Legislation had better encourage leprosy or cretinism. It could not be more disastrous to general peace and prosperity. Labor should dread a Stewart as it dreads the plague. Thousands are to-day beggars because he is so rich. They can't help being beggars. And while there are *millionaires*, beggary must last.

It is capital that rules. Majority of money, not of men and women. Capital makes the laws and executes them. Poor men never made a law taxing themselves to pay rich bondholders their interest in gold; the bonds themselves, held largely, controlled wholly by the rich, in the banks and otherwise, not being taxed at all. Poor men who pay interest, did not fix the rate so high as that it takes all the labor of twenty thousand farmers to pay the annual interest on the wealth of one A. T. Stewart! It is by regulating the rate of interest, that capital controls, absolutely enslaves labor. Enslaves it to such extent that the bloodiest Revolutions in history have grown out of this terrible oppres-

sion, this high art slavery, continued too long. Capital controls not only labor and rate of interest, through legislation, but everything else in state and nation. And not less the courts than the legislatures, from lowest to highest, (not every single judge let us hope), if there be any lowest and highest where all are susceptible to such shameless corruption.

Not a rich man but knows this full well, if the poor do not. Woe might be to the rich, if the poor did. Our present modes (not form) of government will one day astonish mankind, far more than the late southern slave system, though at it all humanity now seems to stand aghast! even Henry A. Wise and Parson Brownlow rejoicing in its fall. It took France ages to ripen the Revolution of 1793. We approach it with far more rapid stride. Great Britain, yielding to pressure and, modifying the iron rigor of her legislation, survives indeed, but volcanic fires slumber beneath, only waiting their appointed hour. Labor in this country, like a caged lion, knows not its strength, and so it is fortunate that it feels not yet the full weight of its chain; else the lingering years of oppression in Great Britain and France would not be repeated in this nation another hour.

P. P.

#### VOTING A NATURAL RIGHT.

It is fast getting admitted that voting is a natural right. It would be universally so held, but for one thing. Woman, under the ruling, must irresistibly claim it. Just as soon as woman comes to the right, nobody will doubt that, under a republican government, voting for rulers is a natural, inalienable, irrepealable, extinguishable right. As long as slavery lasted, half or three-fourths of the northern church and clergy declared it was of God, and must be supported by government, sanctified by religion. And nearly all the remainder of the "sacramental host" held fast by the majority of their slave-breeding brethren. But now that the loathsome abomination is done with, everybody at the north, and doubtless a majority at the south declare it is of the devil and always was, should have been abolished long ago—indeed, should never have existed an hour after Lexington and Bunker Hill.

So will it be with woman's right to the ballot. When she gets it, it will be matter of wonder that she paid taxes to a government, obeyed laws, and suffered penalties almost a century, in the ordaining of which she had no vote, no voice.

Unless the Declaration of Independence is, indeed, a chapter of "glittering generalities," a dash of "rhetorical flourish," as in behalf of slavery it used to be called, then is voting a natural right. If all men are created equal in any mortal thing, it is in rights. If not in rights, then in what are they equal? Surely nothing. And if all men are endowed by the Creator with "inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," then are they also endowed with that on which alone depends the enjoyment and perpetuity of those rights. And that one indispensable, inseparable security is the ballot, or a voice in the law-enacting and law-executing power. The right to life is nothing without the equal right to the means for its support and continuance. It were worse than savage mockery to tell a starving peasantry they had the right to life, and then deny them the land and the sea, and all sources of human subsistence. But not more a mockery is that, than

to prize of right to liberty, while the whole constitution and law-making power, and executing too, is in the hands of a class to the exclusion and oppression of all the rest. If there be any sense in which men are created equal, it is in this of rights. And if the right to life and liberty be inalienable, then is the right to bread and the ballot inalienable. And blood is ever the last resort where these are too long, or too rigorously withheld! as witness the American Revolution in behalf of the latter in 1776, and that in France from famine of the former, a few years afterwards.

And as voting is the natural right of man in virtue of his manhood, so is it the natural right of woman through her womanhood, or rather is it the right of both in virtue of their humanity. And all the argument from the diversity of endowment, man being intellect, woman heart, man power, woman affection, man state, woman church, man a little lower than the angels, woman a little above the angels, alters nothing, for heart has rights as well as head. Love has liberty, has right, or should have it, as much as power. The intellect cannot say to the emotions, I have no need of you; and still less could it add, therefore will I rule over you, or tread you under my feet. Just what makes man a moral, responsible, accountable, immortal being, makes also woman. And on those divine attributes, human rights are claimed and based. The brutes have them not, therefore they are never supposed to have *human* rights. Woman has them as well as man, and why should she, therefore, be classed with brutes, and goaded (not governed), by laws she never made, to which her consent was never even asked? It would be no more absurd to pretend to govern brutes, being brutes, by the ten commandments, than it is to govern women by brute force, as is done while they have no vote no voice in enacting the laws. Woman is taxed to-day intolerably. Nobody denies that. Let her refuse to pay. An attachment of her goods follows. Let her resist on the righteous plea that taxation and representation walked together out of the war of Washington and Revolution, and shall not be separated here. Resistance to tyrants was obedience to God then, she declares, and shall be now. To thus resist would be folly on her part, undoubtedly, as the world holds. But the very reason why it would be folly, blasts the law-makers as those very tyrants; for having the brute, the bull-dog force, they would execute their law, compel payment or shut their *vast* victim in a felon's cell! If this be democracy, and the best it can do, then welcome despotism, only call it by its proper name.

P. P.

**HORRIBLE.**—The item below is only given to sharpen the axe of popular indignation the sooner to hew down the gallows and give it to consuming fire. One such hanging must breed a hundred murders:

Princess Anne, Md., March 5th.—William Wilson, Frank Rounds, William Wells, and George Bailey were hanged here to-day for the murder of B. F. Johnson and Henry Cannon, captain and mate of an oyster sloop, in March, 1868. Rounds and Wells died instantly; Bailey in a few seconds. Wilson's neck did not break. He groaned and struggled horribly. He got the rope off his hands and legs and caught the shroud of Rounds and then his own rope, by which he drew himself up on the scaffold again. The jailer ascended and tightened the noose, and again pushed the wretched man off, jerking the rope violently as he fell. The victim continued to struggle five minutes, some of the crowd yelling, "That's right, you ought to suffer." The execution occupied forty-five minutes. Toward the last, four or five thousand spectators were on the ground.

#### A WOMAN'S VIEW OF CONGRESS.

THE New York *Times* last week had a woman correspondent in Washington, who, evidently, should have been on the floor of Congress, a member, instead of a looker on from the gallery. The question of raising the salaries of "female clerks," as they are called (evidently enough meaning women), was before the house, and elicited much earnest debate, generally very courteous in style and manner, Mr. Butler of Massachusetts being the most disagreeable exception. The *Times* correspondent is doubtless right in saying, that in the session of the Fortieth Congress there have been more avowals made by leading men, both in Congress and out, not only in favor of woman's right to the ballot, but also in recognition of her right to equal pay for equal work, than in all the previous history of the agitation of the question. There is no doubt but the people of the country are fully prepared to sustain their representatives in so obvious an act of justice.

Mr. Butler opposed the measure, and in a way to compel the correspondent to say that Massachusetts must have sent him here to represent her in the Department of low wit, and is very poorly represented even in that. His principal argument against increasing the salaries of the women clerks was, that the competition for their places would thereby be increased; and, in a style peculiar to Ben. Butler (peculiar even in Congress!), he enlarged upon the demoralizing influences to which Congressmen are subjected in consequence of this competition. Another equally sensible objection brought forward by him was, that the young women clerks are now receiving for their labor more than the schoolmistresses throughout the country. Because women are compelled to teach school for half pay, the same unjust policy must be pursued in Government Departments. Butler further said, a woman can support herself and those dependent upon her at \$900 per annum, and that, therefore, there is no reason for an increase in their salary. Of course they can, after a fashion. I know women who support themselves, their children (and even sometimes worthless husbands) on much less; washerwomen for instance, who make \$1 per day, and yet manage to subsist themselves and their families. But they live in a wretched hotel, and upon corn-bread and bacon.

Members of Congress know very well, the correspondent continues, the cost of living in Washington. They were probably thinking of this very thing when they increased their own salaries from \$3,000 to \$5,000 per annum. The people would appreciate their desire to retrench if they were to commence with themselves, and cut down their own salaries to the very lowest sum upon which they and their families can subsist. Until they do this, let us hear less of cutting down salaries of clerks, watchmen, laborers, etc. It is no argument to say that plenty of women can be obtained at the present salary. It is true, there is competition for these places; so there is for the places of men clerks; so there is for the places of members of Congress. Would Mr. Butler consent to the application of the principle he advocates as a remedy for the corruption in politics which results from the great competition for the places of members of Congress? Does any one doubt that there are plenty of good men quite as competent to legislate wisely for the people as those now in Congress, and quite as good logicians as some of those who took part

in this debate, who would be at least willing to serve the country in that capacity for \$3,000 per annum?

Mr. Niblack advocated the proposition to pay women clerks an equal salary to men clerks on the ground of justice. He spoke of a case which had recently come to his observation where a woman clerk receiving \$900 a year was transferred to the desk of a man receiving \$1,400, and he was transferred to her's. The result is that she is doing the work much better than the man did it, while he is now doing hers for \$1,400 a year, and not doing it as well as she did.

Mr. Higby, of California, in referring to the argument of Mr. Scofield, made some forcible remarks on economy. He said :

It is well known that the females in the Departments in many instances, supply the places of males who are receiving \$1,200 and \$1,400 a year, and I am not sure but \$1,600 ; they do the same kind and amount of work. I do not think any member will dispute that. How does it happen, then, if this nation must economize, that this leakage from the Treasury of a million dollars a year, if not more, has not been discovered by this economical Committee, and they have not recommended to this house before now that we should have employed in our department none but females at \$900 a year, in the place of males at \$1,200 and \$1,400. Now I should like to have this committee on Appropriations explain how it is that they have not been on the alert to

the nation one million of dollars by employing female labor, when they will stand here and argue by the hour sometimes over \$20,000 or \$30,000.

This question was put to the House the following day practically by a proposition to employ in the Patent office forty women as copyists in place of men. It was agreed upon after a little debate from some members, and the usual quantity of cheap wit from Mr. Butler. So there is a chance for forty more women to be employed at \$900 a year, unless the Senate shall ratify the proposition of the House to give the \$1,200, which there appears to be reason to believe will be the case.

#### DRAWING THE LINES.

If the fifteenth article of Constitutional Amendments ever gets ratified and becomes the rule of suffrage, it will have at least one good effect. Woman will then know with what power she has to contend. It will be male *versus* female, the land over. All manhood will vote not because of intelligence, patriotism property, or white skin, but because it is *male*, not *female*. All womanhood will be newly outraged and debased, not for ignorance, disloyalty, poverty, or a black skin, but because it is *female* not *male*. Mrs. Howe of Boston has some good thoughts in the *Galaxy* for March on this subject, in part, as below :

The Irish or German savage, after three years cleansing, is admitted to the general enrollment of the community. The colored man, cleaner at the start than these, the natural ally of republican principles, trained to an understanding of freedom by a long experience of its opposite, stands next upon the record. Voting to him is a military necessity. It is the only weapon with which he can meet those whom law, custom and prejudice have hitherto trebly armed against him. This admitted right of elective franchise to all men, brings one scarcely anticipated condition. It arrays now the whole male and female sexes in a new and unforeseen condition. The right of the elective franchise is now the recognition of the inalienable right of all men to the proper administration of their interests, and in America this right is founded upon the right of human intelligence to its own exercise, the right of human labor to its own recompence. The generous culture which allows woman in this country so large an extension of thought, and the social necessities which place in her hands so many of the minor tasks hitherto kept for those of the other sex, alike commission her to claim and make good her right to the most simple, general and ex-

plicit method of expressing her will in the arena where wills are counted and respected.

#### THE OTHER SIDE.

THE Milwaukee *Sentinel*, alarmed at the presence of a Woman Suffrage Convention at its very doors, like a faithful watchman, sounds the alarm, as the best he could do, on this wise :

We are not about to discuss the merits of Woman Suffrage, but only to call attention to the amendment to the state constitution upon that subject now pending in the legislature, and some of the considerations urged in favor of submitting such amendment. We do not think that anybody, save a few strong-minded women and weak-minded men, really suppose that a majority of the people of this state, of either sex, are in favor of any such thing, or wish to be bored with the consideration of any such amendment. The few exceptions alluded to, like all hair-brained reformers, may have thought and talked of nothing else till they really think that all the world is as much interested in the matter as themselves. It is the topic of conversation wherever they go, but is so because they persist in making it so, and will not stop for a reply nor listen to a dissent, like some auctioneers who talk so fast and so loud that they cannot hear a bid when one is made.

It is time our legislatures should take a new view of their responsibilities and obligations in respect to constitutional amendments. They have no right to regard themselves as the mere automata of every addled-brained man or woman who considers it to be his or her duty to reconstruct society and civil government from their ancient foundations to the very top stones. They are sworn to perform their duties faithfully according to their best ability, and not according to the faith and ability of some Miss Johnney or Mr. Nancy that may be screaming in their ears.

We do not say that members of a legislature should be wholly uninfluenced by the popular voice in an amendment of this kind, but they should be well convinced that the amendment is really demanded by a majority of the people, or at least a very respectable portion of them, before they listen at all to it, and even then they are bound by their oaths to exercise their own judgment or resign. We command to them the following instructive lines :

"How well it is the sun and moon  
Are placed so very high,  
That no presuming hand can reach  
To pluck them from the sky.

If 'twere not so I do believe  
That some reforming ass,  
Would soon attempt to take them down  
And light the world with gas."

The above is a fair sample of the other side of the question. It is reported for the benefit of readers of THE REVOLUTION, as the best argument the wrong side offers, the best that can be offered. Another writer in the same paper uses better language, but worse logic, if possible, for he says :

We gave the Suffrage to the blacks because they needed it for their protection, and because it is the *natural right of man*. The blacks are degraded, enslaved and oppressed, and would always have been a stumbling-block in our way if we had not given them the Suffrage.

Sad reasons, one would think, for giving suffrage to these last, while withholding it from women who are not "degraded," never were debased by slavery, but whose "natural" right even to the ballot is surely as good as that of any man not "degraded, enslaved and oppressed."

The same writer says women are not oppressed, and so renders himself incompetent to argue the question. For either he is dishonest, which I would not allege against him, or else he knows nothing of the subject.

GEORGE FRANCIS TRAIN delivered the forty-fifth successive lecture of his New England tour in Waltham, Mass., last Monday night.

#### LO, THE POOR INDIAN!

HON. WALTER A. BURLEIGH, Representative in Congress from Dakota (term now expired), delivered an address on "Indian Affairs," every word of which is worthy a place in THE REVOLUTION, and should be in every newspaper in the nation. Coming almost from among the aborigines, and knowing well whereof he affirms, his words should have weight with everybody, will with every humane person who reads them. A few excerpts are all there is room for to-day. The charges are grave, fearfully so, but well sustained throughout :

I think it must be admitted that the policy of the government toward the Indians has not been wise or humane. Its professions, to our shame it must be said, have been merely nominal. The fate of them, from the origin of our contact with the race to the present hour, illustrates the truth of the adage that wise and good professions may exist with cunning and cruel practices. African slavery has passed away ; its foul blot upon our nation has been washed out in the best blood of the land. May we not now indulge in the hope that the time has come when the national conscience may be awakened, and the public sentiment aroused to the obligations which rest upon us to protect the remnants of the scattered Indian tribes which still linger among us, and advance them as far as possible in the arts and comforts of civilized life ? We owe them a debt which, as the best we may, we can never fully discharge. Our treaties with them are full of unredeemed pledges. The demands of public faith and justice and the dictate of common humanity alike require that this subject be no longer delayed.

We have driven the Indians from their homes without compensation and without mercy. We have wrested from them the title to their lands by pretended, or at least ostensible purchase. We have withheld the payments until they were comparatively valueless, or refused them altogether on unfounded pretenses. We have paid them in depreciated currency, when we agreed by solemn treaty to pay them in gold and silver ; we have paid them in worthless trash, when we promised them the money for their lands ; we have defrauded the Indians in the fulfillment of our stipulations for their clothing and food and their agricultural, mechanical, and educational advancement ; we have failed to afford them our promised protection against the worse than barbarous whites who infest their settlements ; we have hunted them down and murdered them like wild beasts of the forest ; and, what is worse than all these, or people have polluted every tribe in the land by poisoning the very fountains of life, from which the Indian springs, with the most loathsome of diseases, more venomous and destructive to the race than the sting of the scorpion, the bite of the serpent, or the leprosy of old. We have, in a word, violated every feature of our plighted faith in regard to them, and have seen them degenerate, suffer, and perish under our positive opposition or cruel neglect, while we have held them to the severest accountability for all pledges of obedience and good behavior which we have extorted from them in our treaty negotiations. Our official records will fully substantiate all these allegations, disgraceful and humiliating as they are to our national honor, our national pride.

VELOCIPEDIAD.—Two schools are spoken of in this city where riding is taught to girls and women. The Velocipede should be broken to useful work. It is only a colt yet, a pretty pony. But it grows fast and is to become an institution. Improved breeds of the animal are constantly appearing, and it doth not yet appear what it shall be. One with wheels eight feet in diameter, made its appearance at Indianapolis, Ind., last week, the rider's hands and feet both contributing to furnish the motive power. The inventor—an Indianapolis man—claims that it can be driven at the speed of a mile a minute.

WISCONSIN.—The Wisconsin Senate indefinitely postponed the House bill proposing to submit to the people, in 1870, the question of extending Suffrage to women.

## END OF THE SUFFRAGE AGITATION.

THE adoption of the fifteenth amendment will put an end to further agitation of the subject, for a long time at least, and thus leave the government of the country free to deal with its material interests and with the more pressing questions of public policy and administration which will arise from time to time.

We do not concur with those who predict that the question of Suffrage for women will speedily demand public action or engross public attention, or that the right of men to hold office without distinction of color or race, will absorb any great degree of public time or public thought for a long while to come. Until some decided practical advantage is to be gained, by a dominant political party, neither of these questions will be pressed to a decision: and both of them have, in our judgment, commanded more attention already than they will soon command again. With the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment, we may fairly look upon the Suffrage agitation as at an end, for the present political generation at all events—and that consideration, of itself, affords a very powerful argument in favor of its adoption.

Such is the conclusion of the *N. Y. Times*. It is, too, the belief, hope and intention of a large number of party leaders, both republican and democrat. But such reckon without their host. They seem to have no idea with whom they have to deal. Woman may not achieve her rights next year; may not vote for President in 1872. But if President Grant means by "let us have peace," an end to the struggle for Woman Suffrage, he must pray to some other than the God of heaven, or the politicians of his party and country: for the latter can't stop the agitation, and the former won't. So President Pierce actually proclaimed peace with slavery at his inauguration; but John Brown was already whetting his sword, and the Almighty was forging his thunderbolts for that vessel of wrath, long fitted for destruction, and the day of peace is not even yet. Negro slavery is already falling like lightning from heaven. And woman's oppression is to consume in the same fire, like a Hindoo widow on the funeral pile of her husband, before the *N. Y. Times*, Gen. Grant, or anybody else should cry, or even dream of peace.

F. P.

"WHO CAN ANSWER."—A lively writer of letters from St. Louis sends the following to *Zion's Herald*:

The women here have endeavored to find out to what extent taxation without representation, because of sex, obtains in this city, and as the result of their enquiries, they are enabled to place on their records the following very suggestive document:

"ASSESSOR'S OFFICE,  
ST. LOUIS, January 30, 1869."

"To Mrs. Cousins and Emma Finkelburg, Committee of the Ladies Suffrage Association:

"In reply to your request to report to your association the amount of property listed in the city of St. Louis in the name of ladies, permit me to state that the property in question is represented by over 2,000 tax-paying ladies, and assessed at the value of \$14,490,199."

"Yours, very respectfully, ROBERT J. BOMBAER,  
Assessor."

This exhibit has opened the eyes of a good many people. "Two thousand on 'em," exclaimed a male friend of mine, "and over fourteen millions of property! whew! What business have these women with so much money?" Well, they have it, and now they ask us "Shall 2,000 men, not worth a dollar, just because they wear pantaloons, go to the polls and vote taxes on us, while we are excluded from the ballot-box for no other reason than sex?" What shall we say to them? They ask us if the American Revolution did not turn on this hinge, *No taxation without representation?* Who can answer?

THE MCGREGOR (Ia.) NEWS.—The Northwestern press leads the land. Could half the mighty works done in New England and New York be done in that teeming region of industry, enter-

prise and thrift, of moral ideas, too, as well as material pursuits, the cause of woman would not languish long in despondency nor in hope. It would march straight on to victory. The McGregor News is a large and well conducted sheet with a woman's column, well and wisely filled.

## WHAT A WOMAN COUNSELS.

A MOTHER after visiting the Chicago Magdalen Asylum, wrote a letter about it to the *Journal* of that city, in which she says, after describing some things she saw and learned there:

Mothers cannot be too careful of their daughters. Keep them out of the streets and away from the young men you do not know. Take them yourselves to places of amusements, to theatres, concerts, to the circus—show them its tinsel, and they will never want to wear it. Forbid your little girls to sit on every gentleman's knee, and be handled with the freedom he would use to kitten or lap-dog—they grow so soon into large girls, and you still thinking of them as children. Teach them to reprove an improper word or look, and to shun the magnetism of a man's presence—the smile that would win confidence. Sit with them in the parlor when they have company of an evening, even if you employ yourself at a distance with imaginary sewing, and are conveniently deaf, or if you read the service in the prayer-book with your eyes closed. For those who seek to ruin the innocent and helpless, I have a couplet. It is not Scripture, but it is as true as holy writ:

"The mills of God grind slowly, but they grind exceeding small,  
Though with patience he stands waiting, with exactness grinds he all."

WASH-TUB STATISTICS.—The *Evening Post* says, In Great Britain there are nearly as many milliners and dressmakers for women as there are boot and shoe-makers for men and women together, and many thousands more than the whole army and navy of the United Kingdom; more staymakers than solicitors and attorneys; more makers of plaited-straw goods than there are people in the entire civil service of the government; more seamstresses and shirt-makers than bricklayers or butchers or bakers; more washer-women than there are men in all the learned professions taken together. The making of cotton cloth is one of the chief industries of the kingdom; shirtmaking itself is a trade which employs many tens of thousands of people; yet, as Dr. Lyon Playfair has shown, every dozen of shirts made, ultimately brings to the washerwoman, on the average, \$44, or more than twice as much as the producer of the cotton, the spinner and weaver of the cloth and the shirt-maker altogether get to divide among them. The wages earned by washing shirts in the United States alone can hardly be less than forty millions of dollars a year, or about one-third of the interest of the national debt.

ONWARD.—The voters of Brewster, Mass., have unanimously elected on their School Committee, Mrs. Elizabeth Crocker. She is the wife of an esteemed citizen of the town, and the mother of four children, all young enough to be pupils in the town schools. She is also a member of the Baptist church, and chaplain of the Lodge of Good Templars in that town. She was formerly a successful teacher, and is admirably qualified for her new position.

A SIGN.—A lady in Pittsfield, Mass., caught a large-sized eagle last week in a very remarkable manner. Seeing a hawk, as she supposed, fighting a sturdy old hen in the yard, she ran up

and seized it by the neck. The eagle made no serious resistance to the capture, being astonished, apparently, into submission. The women are soon to capture "*the American Eagle*" and share the honors and protection so long monopolized by men only.

## "HIGHER LAW" AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

DR. THOMPSON should confine his labors to the saints (and sinners) of Broadway Tabernacle and not interfere unnecessarily with the woman question. The hornet's pest he poked open by his late article in the portly *New Englander* has not yielded him honey to much extent if any at all. Away in Missouri a little woman has him in hand on this wise, though this is but a single paragraph:

Much is said about woman's having to carry the load and drive the plough, and such like nonsense, if she is allowed to cast the ballot. Now, what did many of our women do during the late civil war, both North and South, in the matter of tilling the field? It can be proved by actual fact that the fields of the North did not go untilled on many a farm, from which all the men were sent to the army to fight for our country. One woman told me that she ploughed, planted and hoed, with the assistance of her daughter, enough ground to produce 3,000 bushels of corn, which she gathered in and carried to market, paid off a debt of \$1,500, which her husband left unpaid when he went to the army, then moved to town where she earneded with her needle enough to purchase a few acres of land and build a small but comfortable home for her thrifless husband to spend the evening of his days, subsisting on her hard-earned means. The flash of her keen black eyes as she told me that her husband had not given her so much as one pair of shoes in the twenty-seven years she had lived with him, and that she wished from her inmost soul that God would send another war to take off *him*, where he did one man in the war that has left its burning, scathing marks on them, gave an idea how we men feels towards that portion of creation that has heretofore deprived her of her God-given rights. Give them back, and none need fear that she will make bad use of them, if she is what Dr. Thompson represents her to be.

WOMAN IN WAR.—In his eloquent lecture on "William the Silent," Frederick Douglass says, with the Dutch there was nothing of the fire-eating quality, for their valor was equal to their forbearance. In the poverty of their arms, they, to use a familiar phrase, beat their plow-shares into swords, and taught not only their sons but their daughters how to fight. Much of the fighting in besieged cities was done by the women. Husbands and wives stood together, and met the Spaniard with the coolness of veteran troopers. The argument that women cannot vote because they cannot fight did not hold good in the Netherlands. I have, continued the lecturer, contended that women can fight, for I know that fighting is one of woman's reserved powers.

WOMAN'S PROTECTORS.—Anna Dickinson says the Philadelphia medical students are in the habit of insulting ladies in the principal streets of Philadelphia every evening, and in the most brutal manner. It is so in almost every large city. Even in Boston, the evil has become so prevalent, the Chief of Police recently dressed two or three trusty officers in woman's apparel, and sent them out to detect the ruffians who have been insulting ladies while quietly walking on the street. One of the officers reported that more than twenty-seven men accosted him. Some of these shameless felons move in the most respectable society.

THE NEEDLE AND THE NEGRO.—The needle was invented by a Spanish negro in 1545.

National Temperance Society, 172 Williams street, New York. Lucius M. Sargent, Esq., of Boston, did immense service to the cause by his almost inimitable "Temperance Tales." It was a quarter of a century ago, or more, but the men and women, too, of to-day were greatly blessed by them. These little works by the National Temperance Union, are intended to have the same good effect.

LEISURE HOURS for March. A monthly emanating from Pittsburg, Pa., and intensely loyal and devoted to the interests of that business begrimed city, as it has a right to be. Two dollars a year. O'Dwyer & Co., Publishers, 59 Fourth avenue.

FAIR MAID OF PERTH, and ANNE OF GEIERSTEIN. By Sir Walter Scott. Price 20 cents.

The publications of Peterson Brothers are endless. They are now furnishing the cheapest edition of the Waverly Novels ever issued in this or any other country. Only 20 cents a volume, or five dollars for the whole set, 26 volumes, and a steel portrait of Sir Walter Scott gratis.

HOW TO READ CHARACTER: A new Illustrated Handbook of Phrenology and Physiognomy, for the use of Students and Examiners; with a Descriptive Chart marking, and upwards of 170 Engravings. Price, post-paid, in muslin, \$1.25; in paper, \$1. S. R. Wells, publisher, 389 Broadway, New York.

One who wishes to get a practical knowledge of Phrenology and Physiognomy in the shortest possible time, and without burdening his mind with theoretical speculations, will find this handsome volume just the work he needs.

THE MOTHER'S JOURNAL, a family magazine. Mrs. Mary G. Clarke, Editor. Chicago: Clarke & Co. Two dollars per annum, in advance. Excellent as far as it goes; but bless us! to be quoting "*the head of the woman is the man*" at this time of day as reason why woman must wear the tethers of injustice and wrong, any more in the nineteenth than in any former century? O, no! woman has not yet come to perfect liberty any more than man, who attains to some new height in every generation, and confidently expects to for long time yet.

AMERICAN BOOKSELLER'S GUIDE. Monthly, by the American News Company, 119 Nassau street, New York. Just what its name indicates, and so, useful to all bibliopolists. To dealers free. To librarians, etc., \$1 per annum.

LIPPINCOTT'S MAGAZINE. There is no easier way to report this popular magazine than by the following extracts from its prospectus for 1869:

Yearly subscriptions—four dollars. Single number—thirty-five cents. Club rates—two copies for seven dollars (\$7); five copies, for sixteen dollars (\$16); ten copies for thirty dollars (\$30); and each additional copy, three dollars. For every club of twenty subscribers, an extra copy will be furnished gratis, or twenty-one copies for sixty dollars (\$60). The twelve numbers of the Magazine for 1869 will be given to any party sending two subscriptions for 1869. Specimen number sent to any address on receipt of thirty-five cents. Postage—The postage on Lippincott's Magazine is twenty-four cents per year, and must in all cases be paid at the office where it is received. Subscribers will please be careful to give their post office address in full. Address J. B. Lippincott & Co., publishers, 715 & 717 Market street, Philadelphia.

The list of contributors embraces many of the most eminent writers from Massachusetts eastward and westward, as also from Great Britain and Europe.

THE PRACTICAL PAINTER. Published monthly at fifty cents a year. Single copies, three cents. Office 47 Park Row, New York City. Willis, Macdonald & Co., printers and publishers.

Open doors to Artisans and Immigrants. Atlantic and Pacific Oceans for AMERICAN Steamships and Shipping. New York the Financial Centre of the World. Wall Street emancipated from Bank of England, or American Cash for American Bills. The Credit Foncier and Credit Mobilier System, or Capital Mobilized to Resuscitate the South and our Mining Interests, and to People the Country from Ocean to Ocean, from Omaha to San Francisco. More organized Labor, more Cotton, more Gold and Silver Bullion to sell foreigners at the highest prices. Ten millions of Naturalized Citizens DEMAND. A PENNY OCEAN POSTAGE, to Strengthen the Brotherhood of Labor, and keep bright the chain of friendship between them and their Father Land.

#### PRESIDENT GRANT'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

We have looked forward with great interest to the foreshadowing of President Grant's policy, in his opening address to the people of the United States. In many ways it commands our respect and admiration. The faithful execution of the laws promised by it, the economy and integrity to be exercised in the collection and disbursement of public funds, the principle laid down of dealing with other nations as "equitable law requires individuals to deal with each other," and the treatment of the Indians, are of unmistakable excellence. But we regret to see that in considering the topic which is of the highest importance to the welfare of the country, he says, "A return to a specie basis as soon as it can be accomplished without material detriment to the debtor class or the country at large must be provided for." We had hoped that some light upon the true nature of money and the evil effects of a specie basis upon the producing classes of the country might have dawned upon his mind; but it is not so. The great reform has not found a friend in the new President. Nobly as he stands in regard to the other questions, on this he represents the wealth and the power of wealth of the moneyed classes. He has not been talked to in vain by rich men who would have him strengthen the foundation of their riches. No doubt he verily believes that specie payments will promote the public welfare. But Congress will probably not dare to hurry the evil day, for the members, many of them, with sagacious Gen. Butler the foremost, know it would be a day of disaster and ruin. The west, instructed by its experience of the tender mercies of eastern money-lenders under the old specie system, will make a powerful opposition to any such attempt. Having escaped from Shylock's affectionate grasp, they have no disposition to trust themselves again in his hand. The National Banking system is enough of a Shylock for them. Again the President says, "To protect the national honor, every dollar of the government indebtedness should be paid in gold, unless otherwise stipulated in the contract." To this we heartily agree, and are glad to see that Gen. Grant recognizes the fact that a part of the debt is not payable in gold. The men who passed the act authorizing the \$1,500,000,000 of five-twenty, principal payable in lawful money, interest only payable in coin, "buildest wiser than you knew." We have no sympathy with any outcry against the bondholders. The question is not whether this or that class of persons holds the bonds, but how these bonds shall be justly

paid. We know a clergyman who has in his keeping fifteen bonds, each belonging to a workingman or working-woman, and doubtless there is a large number so held. But if every one of the 5-20 bonds were owned by such persons, or if every one were held by rich men—if either of these suppositions were a fact, it would have no legitimate bearing upon the sort of money that should be given in payment.

It is unreasonable to assume, as some appear to do, that the bondholders are to blame because they have the bonds. That species of indebtedness is additional, but except for that, is not more burdensome to the laboring population than the indebtedness arising from the general rates of interest throughout the country; only these are customary and comparatively hidden; while the other is new and palpable. The whole system of money and the rate of interest needs reformation. We must get at the fundamental truth that money is not a commodity, but a legal representative of value, and that the rate of interest determines what proportion of products shall go to the producer, and what to the already existing capital. It is this power of the rate of interest to determine the reward of labor, and the increase of indebtedness always consequent upon a scarcity of money, that makes this question vital. The holding of the bonds at a just rate of interest, the whole debt being payable in legal tender paper money which had been made a true representative of value, would entail no extreme hardship upon the people. When the debt was contracted it is not too much to say that the people and the government were under a delusion as to the real nature of money, the proper mode of instituting it, and the rate of interest which it ought to bear. But fortunately it was said that the principal of the five-twenty should be paid in lawful money, so that the great evil, and shall we say fearful uprising that must sometime have occurred if the attempt had been made in this republic to pay the whole in gold made the sole legal tender, as is contemplated by a return to specie payments, can be avoided. We are not used to a debt, and the people look into this matter with a keenness and intelligence which has never been brought to the scrutiny of old world public debts. With reverence be it said, that it seems as if the good providence of God had intended that this very diversity in the money named to pay the bonds—the difference between the lawful money to pay the five-twenty and the coin to pay the ten-forties—should cause this subject to be investigated and sifted by the people at large, in order to bring about a great and beneficial change in the condition of the human family.

In behalf of the working classes of this nation we deprecate the policy that looks to the resumption of specie payments; and hope that other counsels will prevail. In conclusion we quote the last paragraph ever written by the late Edward Kellogg on the money question. It is pertinent to this topic:

"Again, the banks in the city of New York publish weekly statements of the amount under discount, the amount of specie on hand, of money on deposit, and of bank-notes in circulation. These weekly statements are given under oath of the officers of the banks, and the people suppose there is actually so much money deposited in the banks belonging to depositors. Now, are these deposits all money? If they are, the power of money is not in its material substance, for all the specie and all the bank-notes held by the banks would not, in ordinary

#### Financial Department.

##### THE REVOLUTION.

VOL. III.—NO. 10.

FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.—*America versus Europe—Gold, like our Cotton, FOR SALE. Greenbacks for Money. An American System of Finance. American Products and Labor Free.*

Too MUCH BASE.—A piano-maker in this city complains, especially in behalf of women, of the unreasonable profits made on pianos. He says among other things, in the *N. Y. Sun*:

There are thousands of people in New York, and suburbs, that would like pianos, and would have them but for the enormous price asked for them. Now, I have been foreman in one of our first class piano manufacturers for fifteen years, and I know the cost of every piano made. Instruments sold for \$650, cost \$210, and those sold for \$1,600, which are handsomely carved grands, cost \$475. If manufacturers would be satisfied with little less profit, persons now without an instrument would be able to purchase one. There are a number of young ladies in this city who are good performers on the pianoforte, and would like to purchase an instrument to give instruction on, but are unable to do so, on account of the high price of them. There are dealers in New York that buy pianos of companies and large manufacturers for from \$225 to \$242, and sell for \$650 and \$700. If they pay the manufacturer \$10 for an extra moulding, they put \$50 on the price of the pianos. If you should see fit to publish this letter, and piano-makers or dealers should deny the above, I will send down the price of every article in the piano, including the case, to prove what I say is true.

SAFETY OF SOLDIERY.—The peace is always supposed kept, where the military are stationed. And yet the universal testimony in all times and in all countries is, that nothing is safe in its presence, from female chastity to the fruits of the orchard and garden. The telegraph brings word that a militia soldier, stationed near Pulaski, Tenn., committed a gross outrage upon the person of a young negro girl. The father and other negroes caught him, and beat him so terribly with their muskets, that he is reported to be in a dying condition; but even the military commander justified them in their terrible revenge.

THE AGITATOR.—Its Prospectus is already abroad. It is to be launched from Chicago under the direction of Mrs. M. A. Livermore and so will be an *Agitator* of course. Mrs. Livermore is coming to be known if not so already as one of the foremost in the championship for human enfranchisement. For eloquence and executive ability both, she certainly has few equals, and no superiors. The *Agitator*, absorbs the *Sorosis* and its editor, Mrs. Walker, who in its conduct has proved herself also an able and vigorous writer. It will be published at \$2.50 per annum in advance. Address *Agitator*, Box 5836 Chicago, Ills.

EXACTLY.—Old Mr. "Veteran Observer" says in his last to the *N. Y. Times*, "It seems to me I am almost as cold as the snow and wind, in my view of human affairs. I see human nature the same from age to age and generation to generation," and so "it seems" to many others when he talks as he did not long before on the woman question. His nom de plume is well chosen, *Veteran Observer*.

THE Springfield *Republican* says Rev. Robert Collier of Chicago takes the Dr. Todd and Rev. Mr. Fulton view of Woman Suffrage and the woman question generally; but the Springfield *Republican* never was more mistaken in all its life. He takes THE REVOLUTION view, full and clear.

BAD FOR WOMAN.—The *Christian Leader*, New York Universalist organ, says, "Writers in such papers as THE REVOLUTION perpetrate a great amount of stupidity when they discourse of female wages, insisting that women

who do the same work as men, and do it as well, ought to receive the same wages."

ALL THE DIGNITY AND DECENCY.—When the question of raising the pay of women clerks in the departments at Washington was before Congress a few days since, the following scene graced the proceedings:

Mr. Kelsey, of N. Y., moved to increase the number of second-class clerks in the Patent Office from 32 to 35, which was adopted; also to increase the number of first-class clerks from 26 to 40.

Mr. Axtell, of California, moved to amend by inserting the words "female clerks." He argued that women should be appointed to the departments, and not driven, as they often were, to the extreme west to seek employment.

Mr. Butler, of Mass.—Don't you think women are wanted more in Idaho and Montana to raise children than here? (Laughter.)

The amendment of Mr. Axtell was rejected, and that of Mr. Kelsey adopted.

Mr. Butler might have been content to oppose the motion of Mr. Axtell in woman's behalf, without insulting her into the bargain.

BAD OPENING.—One of the first bills introduced into the new Congress was in the Senate by Mr. Harlan of Iowa, giving away some millions of acres of the public domain to a railroad in his state. One of these days, says the *New York Sun*, when all the unoccupied land at the West has been monopolized by speculators, and actual settlers have to buy of them their homesteads at an enormous advance, we shall wake up to the follies we have been perpetrating in this business of making land grants. It is to be hoped that the present Congress will do as the late one did, and put a stop to all such schemes.

BLINDNESS REMARKABLE.—The Racine (Wis.) *Journal* has an article of three or four columns on the late Chicago Conventions, one period of which is this:

We have looked earnestly, and without any material prejudice, through all the discussions which took place at the *Siamese* convention in Chicago, for one sound, practical idea in favor of Female Suffrage, and it was nowhere to be found.

After glancing through his article, there seemed no reason to wonder.

CAPITAL.—A Rochester paper says:

At the county treasurer's office in this city, a few days since, a lady, elbowing her way to the desk through a motley crowd of men, significantly remarked that, "though gentlemen protest against the impropriety and indelicacy of a woman pushing through a crowd of vulgar men to deposit a ballot, yet they fail to see anything indecent or improper in her doing the same thing in order to pay the taxes which they impose upon her."

WHY NOT?—Lansing, Michigan, has a young female barber, aged fourteen. She is very popular with the Michigan legislators.

THE retirement of Mr. Wade from public life leaves Mr. Sumner the "Father of the Senate."

FIFTEEN hundred women in Centre county, Pa., have appended their signs manual to a petition praying the courts to grant no more liquor licenses.

It is said that Blanche Butler, and a sister of Senator Pomeroy's wife, with other young ladies of standing and influence, are taking up the refrain of Woman Suffrage at the Federal capital.

COLORED CITIZEN'S MONTHLY, devoted to Religion, Industry, Education and Equal Political Rights, the only means of elevation and bulwark of political happiness. Published at Jackson, Mississippi. Lynch & Spellman, editors and publishers. One dollar per annum, in advance. A much needed source of truth and light in that as yet bedarkened region. May it rise as a morning sun.

THE Des Moines *Register* declares itself for Woman Suffrage, and says, "The men have been having their say for six thousand years, and it is about time for women to have a chance."

THE Fontanelle *Register* declares itself unreservedly in favor of Woman Suffrage.

#### THE BENEDICT TIME WATCH

THE enterprising firm of Benedict Brothers have now ready at their "up-town" establishment, 691 Broadway, an extensive and elegant assortment of Gold and Silver Watches for the Fall trade of 1868, to which they invite the attention of the readers of "THE REVOLUTION" and all others who desire a perfect TIME-KEEPER. Their stock comprises the various grades of the American Waltham and the choicest imported watches. They have also, in addition, a fine quality of watch which they have named the "Benedict Time Watch," they having the supervision of the manufacture of the movements, which are of nickel, which has proved to be a metal more durable than brass or other compound metals, and less liable to contraction or expansion by the fluctuating character of the temperature of this climate. This movement gives greater accuracy and requires less repairs than the others. Their stock of American Watches is unrivaled. All the various grades may be found at their counters at the lowest prices, regulated and in every respect warranted. The Messrs. Benedict Brothers have secured their reputation and extensive patronage by a strictly honorable course in conducting their business, selling the best of goods at fair prices. We feel safe in commanding this establishment to the consideration of our readers, and would say to all, if you want a good, reliable Watch, go to Benedict Brothers, up town, 691 Broadway.

#### LITERARY.

THE RADICAL for March, welcome as ever. Mr. Alcott opens it again with another of his imitable Conversations. I have heard a spiritual Seer say that Garrison was *Isiah* of the hallowed lips, returned again. Mr. Alcott should be *Socrates*, then. Not *Socrates*, barefooted, ragged, and shabby in person every way, and manners too, out-drinking as well as out-arguing every man, a coarse "old uncle," as Emerson somewhere calls him—but *Socrates* civilized, refined into a decent, well-dressed, well-bred, well-behaved man—not "gentleman," as the world goes, but *man*, something better, the masculine of woman, as gentleman is the masculine of lady; unless, as sometimes happens, both are feminine. But Mr. Alcott's style of conversation, in private or public, carries one back to Athens, or brings *Socrates* down to Boston more than that of any other person. And that, to many, is the charm of him. And the March Conversation is on *Plato*, the illustrious pupil of his immortal master, *Socrates*. One more as good on the same character, will well pay for the *Radical* a year. And it needs another more now than before. Several questions raised were only half answered, and there are many more equally important and interesting to be asked. *Plato* has been dead a good deal more than two thousand years, so the world thinks; but if the whole world gets as much alive in two thousand years to come, on many problems, vital to its well being, as *Plato* was and is, it will do well. The world is dead yet to much that was *Plato*. So let Mr. Alcott keep interpreting him. His serene, beautiful life were, indeed, well spent, did he do nothing else, doing this so wisely and so well. The *Radical* has its usual well-spread table, a little on the European hotel plan, with short articles, instead of the *table d'hôte* long courses of most of the magazines. A little chapter on *Parasites*, by Marie A. Brown, and Mr. Whipple's *Church versus Church Members*, will well repay reading. And so will several others. Office, 25 Broomfield street, Boston. Messrs. Morse and Marvin, proprietors.

HISTORY OF A TURKEEPENNY BIT. Another pretty little Temperance book of 214 pages, neatly gotten up, by the

times, pay even one-half of these deposits as reported. Then in what does the other half consist? It consists in a mere balance of accounts; and if these balances are money, it follows that the power of money is not in its material substance. But this power has the ability to call for the material substance to satisfy its requirements. Let the banks in the city of New York curtail their discounts, so that they shall not exceed the actual amount of their specie and the bank-notes which they have received from the Comptroller, and it would paralyze the business of the nation, and make far more ruinous crisis than that of 1837, or the one of 1857. The property and labor of the country would sink into insignificance before this overwhelming power of money. The usurers would get almost any price they chose to charge for the use of money, and thus monopolize the great wealth of the nation without even lifting their hands in any productive labor. Under our present monetary laws the people would be compelled to submit to these extortions; for the money has the legal power, but property and labor have no legal authority over the money. The holder of a mortgage for \$1,000 on property worth \$50,000, if the mortgagor could not pay the money, might buy in the property worth \$50,000 for even \$100, and enter up a judgment against his debtor for \$900. A debtor placed in these circumstances would doubtless try his best to borrow the \$1,000, even if he had to pay one or two per cent. a day, in order to prevent this great sacrifice of his property, and in the hope that there would be more ease in the money market. This endowment of money with an immaterial, omnipresent power, which can be, and is, used to any extent without the presence of the material substance, and this immaterial power having the legal right to call for money in its material form to fulfil its requirements and satisfy its demands, when the government has neglected to provide the necessary material substance, is the grossest outrage upon the rights of the people ever invented by tyrants."—New Monetary System.

#### GEORGE FRANCIS TRAIN

QUOTING THE FINANCIAL WISDOM OF 'THE WORLD.'

#### ROLLING THE BIG WHEEL UP HILL.

On the way to Pittsfield in the cars for another forty days campaign in the lecture room, meeting the people face to face. I am writing these lines to attract the attention of THE REVOLUTION to a remarkable article in the money column of the *World*. It should be copied in every journal of the land. This brief extract is full of practical knowledge and intuitive foreshadowing of what is to be:

If this policy of letting the gold market alone had been adopted by the government in 1862, we should have probably shipped less than \$100,000,000 in specie instead of \$390,000,000, and we should have had \$300,000,000 more of gold in the country. It matters not how high our credit may stand in Europe; five-twenty bonds may advance to 100 or more in gold; but that does not affect the fact that gold in this country is simply a commercial article, depending entirely on the laws of supply and demand, and as such its price must be judged of. To talk of the resumption of specie payments while the Treasury Department persists in the suicidal—for American interests—Chase-McCulloch policy of selling its surplus gold, is a practical absurdity. The Treasury Department has not sufficient on hand of its own gold to cover in advance six months' interest on our gold-bearing debt. It is a practical absurdity to talk of the resumption of specie payments while our national banks, savings banks, and other institutions which should be hoarding their gold for that advent, sell every dollar of their half-yearly coupons, frequently in advance and as

fast as they can. It is a practical absurdity to talk of the resumption of specie payments while the price of gold is run down to a point so low as at present to stop the exports of produce by means of gold by "bear" speculators and by bankers against shipments of bonds to Europe, and while importers refrain from buying gold against their daily wants, and merchants borrow their gold instead of buying it to pay for their custom duties. Practically, everybody who really wants gold, merchants and others, never buy as they want, and the Gold Room and other speculators are perpetually "bearing" the market with short sales of gold which they never own. The result is to make gold unnaturally cheap, so that we have shipped \$390,000,000 of specie in six years, which by a reversed policy would be kept in the country, dollar for dollar in gold, for all the greenbacks in circulation. In plain terms, this policy of keeping the price of gold low enriches Europe at the expense of the United States. It is a practical absurdity to talk of the resumption of specie payments so long as this ignorance on the gold question prevails with our government banks and other institutions, and the public. If continued, it will bring bankruptcy on our leading commercial houses of high standing as disastrous in its consequences as that of Overend, Gurney & Co., in London. The absorption of our bonds by Europe is "lovely," and makes all things *couleur de rose* as far as it goes; and, if this transfer of European capital to this continent were used in reproducing new wealth profitably, it would be well enough. But the facts are that Europe pays us for our bonds, selling at 80 cents on the dollar, in dry goods and other articles of luxury at 110 to 120 cents on the dollar, which we consume and which are destroyed within a year. The payment in produce or specie concludes a transaction. Not so, however, with bonds. The payment by bonds at 70 to 80 cents on the dollar entails an annual remittance of 6 per cent. in gold for fourteen to seventeen years, besides the final payment of 100 cents in gold. For example, we owe for interest every year, say:

\$900,000,000, of 5-20 bonds at 6 per cent. ....	\$54,000,000
\$600,000,000 other securities.....	36,000,000
Annual interest due Europe..... \$90,000,000	

This estimate shows that Europe drains the United States every year of about \$90,000,000 in gold for interest on investments which cost Europe on an average about \$800,000,000, equal to an interest of nearly 12 per cent. per annum. In other words, Europe will draw from America in twenty years \$1,900,000,000 in gold for interest, besides \$1,400,000,000 for principal, making a total of \$3,300,000,000 in gold which the people of the United States have to work and pay for to benefit Europe. To meet this gold demand, the annual product of the country is, in round numbers, about \$100,000,000. Our banks hold \$20,832,603, a sum just about equal to what is owned by the foreign bankers in this city and which they hold here ready for use as directed by their European correspondents through the cable telegram. If war or any European political complications should arise, the bulk of this gold will be called back. Their loans of gold would then be called in, and both speculators and importers would become rival buyers at the same moment, to the loss of both but to the great advantage of the country in making gold dearer, so that it would be retained here and other articles of produce shipped in its place. The shipment of bonds, as no gold is brought here from Europe to pay for them, operates on the gold market simply like a short sale to depress its price. If, in addition to the sales of bankers against bonds, speculators also sell short to an equal amount, then the gold market has had to sustain what may be called "short sales" to the extent of over \$80,000,000 since February 1, whilst the actual available stock of gold on the market has been steadily diminishing from the exports of specie and the Custom House demand. The price of gold was 132 when five-twenty bonds were selling at 72 and 82, showing plainly that the price of bonds in Europe has not the most remote natural connection with the price of gold. The prevailing notion among speculators, that gold ought to decline as the price of bonds advances in London is destined to be the ruin of many. It is a fallacy with no sound reason to rest on. The price of gold, like the price of cotton or tobacco, is regulated by supply and demand and the numbers of buyers and sellers in the market.

#### TRASH AND SENSE.

Think of it, ye sons of labor! Ye must dig out of our mines *three thousand millions of gold in twenty years* to pay our "Dear Cousins" for killing a million of our people, rolling up three thousand millions of debt, wiping our commer-

off the sea, and macadamizing British bastiles with the citizens of America! Was there ever such madness? That three column article is full of thought. That writer is a business man. That money editor talks sense. What a curious sight to see Baxter, Mill, Adam Smith, Turgot, Stern and Moral's Free Trade and Specie Payment trash in editorial columns in England's interest, and the same day reading such Political Economy as quoted here, in the interest of America. Oh, M. M.! oh, H. G.! Like Horace Greeley writing Protection in one column and Specie Payments in the other! Driving tandem with both horses heads together; or rather driving a span with one horse's head along side of the other horse's tail. Had Chase and McCulloch acted in the statesmanship-like policy marked out by the Financial Editor of the *World*, America would have been *five thousand million dollars the richer to-day*.

GEORGE FRANCIS TRAIN.

#### THE MONEY MARKET

was easy at the close of Saturday at 6 to 7 per cent. The weekly bank statement is considered unfavorable. The loans are increased \$717,966, while the deposits are decreased \$2,611,738, and the legal tenders \$1,689,685. The specie is decreased \$1,345,969.

The following table shows the changes in the New York city banks this week compared with the preceding week:

	Feb. 27.	March 6.	Differences.
Loans,	\$261,371,897	\$262,039,883	Inc. \$717,966
Specie,	20,832,603	19,486,634	Dec. 1,345,969
Circulation,	34,247,981	34,275,885	Inc. 27,904
Deposits,	185,216,175	182,604,437	Dec. 2,611,738
Legal-tenders,	50,835,054	49,45,369	Dec. 1,689,685

#### THE GOLD MARKET

was active and excited on Saturday with frequent fluctuations ranging between 129½ and 131½ as the extremes between the opening and closing.

The fluctuations in the gold market for the week were as follows:

	Opening.	Highest.	Lowest.	Closing.
Monday, March 1, 131½	132½	131	131	131½
Tuesday, 2, 132½	132½	131½	131½	132
Wednesday, 3, 132½	132½	131½	131½	132
Thursday, 4, 131½	132	131½	131½	131½
Friday, 5, 131½	131½	131	131	131½
Saturday, 6, 130½	131½	130½	130½	130½

#### THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE MARKET

was quiet on Saturday, prime bankers 60 days sterling bills being quoted 108½ to 108¾, and sight 109 to 109½.

#### THE RAILWAY SHARE MARKET

was firmer, closing strong at the following quotations:

Cumberland, 36½ to 37; W. F. & Co. Ex. 31½ to 31½
American Express, 43½ to 44; Adams Express 62½ to 62½
Merchants Union Express, 17 to 18; Quicksilver, 24 to 24½; Canon, 50½ to 60; Pacific Mail, 100½ to 100½; W. U. Telegraph, 36½ to 37; N. Y. Central, 158½ to 158½; Erie, 36½ to 36½; Hudson River, 136½ to 136½; Reading, 91 to 91½; Toledo, Wabash & W., 65½ to 66; Toledo, Wabash & W. prof., 77½ to 77½; Mill & St. Paul, 65½ to 65½; Mill & St. P. preferred, 77½ to 77½; Fort Wayne, 118½ to 118½; Ohio & Miss., 33½ to 33½; Mich. Central, 117½ to 118½; Mich. Southern, 95½ to 96; Illinois Central, 137 to 140; Cleve. & Ptg., 89½ to 89½; Cleve. & Toledo, 104½ to 104½; Rock Island, 126 to 126½; North Western, 81½ to 81½; North Western prof., 89½ to 89½; Mariposa, 14½ to 14½; Mariposa preferred, 33½ to 34.

#### UNITED STATES SECURITIES

were strong throughout the week, and closed steady.

Fisk & Hatch, 5 Nassau street, report the following quotations:

United States sixes, Pacific Railroad, 102 to 102½
United States sixes, 1881, registered, 114½ to 115
United States sixes, coupon, 116½ to 116½
United States five-twenty, registered, 113½ to 113½
United States five-twenty, coupon, 118½ to 118½
United States five-twenty, 1864, 114½ to 114½
United States five-twenty, coupon, 1865, 115½ to 115½
United States five-twenty, coupon, 1865, 112½ to 113
United States five-twenty, coupon, 1867, 112½ to 113
United States five-twenty, coupon, 1867, 112½ to 113

ties, coupon, 1868, 112% to 113; United States territories, registered, 104% to 104%; United States territories, coupon, 105% to 105%.

## THE CUSTOM DUTIES

for the week were \$3,261,516 in gold against \$3,617,749, \$2,925,972 and \$3,400,399 for the preceding weeks. The imports of merchandise for the week were \$7,255,441 in gold against \$4,762,501, \$7,439,293, and \$3,944,747 for the preceding weeks. The exports, exclusive of specie, were \$2,108,676 in currency against \$3,961,173, \$3,228,065, and \$2,660,313 for the preceding weeks. The exports of specie were \$507,549 against \$1,093,967, \$213,393 and \$227,839, for the preceding weeks.

**A. THE HAIR, SCALP AND FACE.**—Dr. B. C. PERRY, Dermatologist, 49 Bond Street, treats with special prescriptions falling, loss and prematurely gray hair, dandruff, itching, eczema, ringworm, sore and scald heads and all diseases of the scalp which destroy the hair. He also cures, by personal attention, moles, wens and those disfiguring diseases—unatural red noses and pimply faces. No charge for consultation.

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The Swedish Movement Rooms will be second to none. We consider the proper application of the Movements incalculably important in the treatment of Uterine diseases, Paralysis, Consumption, Spinal Curvature, Torpidity of Liver, Constipation, Piles, Coldness of Extremities, etc.

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January 20, 1869.

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W A T C H E S .

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